FBIS DAILY REPORT

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EVENTS SURROUNDING POLISH CRISIS REPORTED

Reagan Press Conference

AU221157 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] President Reagan has made fresh provocative statements at a White House press conference in connection with the situation in Poland. Interfering in the internal affairs of this soveriegn socialist state, he expressed support for the counter-revolutionary forces and attacked the Polish authorities for the measures they have taken for the defense of law and for normalizing the situation in the country.

Press Reports

AU191124 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 December carries a 530-word report on page 7 by Angel Bonev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Warsaw, entitled "For the Sake of Calm and Constructive Labor" in which he describes the situation in Polish cities stating that the "food supply is normal, even better than before and the sale of alcoholic beverages is banned." Bonev then describes the "calm" in the streets: "Only armored cars and patrolling militia troops indicate the existence of martial law. Automobile traffic has been greatly reduced because of the "temporary interruption of gasoline sales."

Bonev adds that "an increasing number of Polish people no longer ask themselves whether the introduction of martial law was necessary." He further notes that "extremists from Solidarity cynically announced their intentions of confrontation and seizure of power." The Warsaw correspondent, basing his remarks on announcements of the Polish Ministry of Interior, adds that "irresponsible Solidarity groups have tried to organize an occupation strike in the Katowice metallurgical plant." Bonev states that "the culprits of such actions will be subjected to the strict rules of martial law which have been introduced in the country." According to the correspondent, these are the reasons why the over-whelming majority of the population has accepted and supports the measures adopted against chaos and anarchy and for the stabilization of life."

The same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries several reports on the same page of 100 words each from Prague, New York, East Berlin, Bucharest, London and Bonn noting reactions to the recent Polish events. These reports mention "a session at the White House in Washington chaired by George Bush with the participation of Caspar Weinberger." According to this report, the U.S. administration has adopted "an attitude of waiting," as an "official spokesman of the administration stated."

The same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the same page also carries a 1,000-word version of a TASS commentary by Vladimir Serov on the Polish situation entitled "Interference in Domestic Affairs."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 17 December 1981 carries an 800-word report on page 6 entitled: "The Situation in Poland" by an unnamed BTA correspondent from Warsaw on the recent developments following the introduction of martial law. The correspondent's report states that the "situation is calm in general lines" and notes that Solidarity "extremists" and "hooligans" armed with iron sticks are "installed" only in certain plants, but that the security organs together with workers and party aktivists succeeded in arresting 25 of them. The report adds: "Many workers who have been Solidarity members are increasingly realizing that their 'leaders' have misled them along the path of counter-revolution which is disastrous for the people and country. This is why they are publicly denouncing these activities, refusing to participate in strikes and demonstrations and supporting the military authorities. The report further describes Solidarity documents discovered and confiscated by military authorities, including "lists of communists who were marked for physical extermination." The BTA report also refers to the "temporary interruption of the activities of the Catholic organization PAX, whose negative attitude to party policy and overt support of Solidarity is well known.

The BTA report further refers to the situation in Polish universities where several rectors have been dismissed, and to local government affairs where leaders of several voivodships have been dismissed from their posts because of their incapacity to cope with the present difficult situation. High-ranking officers of the Polish People's Army have been appointed in their place." The BTA report also mentions the arrest of Leszek Moczulski, former leader of the "confederation of independent Poland", who had "tried to hide", and the "deportation" of various journalists "who, disregarding the martial law, tried to pursue their anti-socialist activities."

Bulgarian newspapers of 18, 19 and 20 December continue to report and comment on the situation in Poland. Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 18 December on page 5 carries a 1,000-word report by the BTA correspondent in Warsaw, K. Iliev, entitled "The Situation in Poland." Noting that "restoring order, calm and normal labor" are the most important tasks of the authorities, Iliev reports the 17 December declaration of the Military Council of National Salvation. Further on he reports a press conference at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs at which some of the authorities' measures against Solidarity were reported, including "the interment of almost 3,500 extremist figures and leaders of Solidarity and KSS-KOR." Reporting on the contents of the Polish daily press, Iliev stresses the fact that the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party have expressed their support of the Military Council's steps.

The same newspaper on page 5 carries a 800-word article by Georgi Todorchev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in New York, entitled "U.S. Partiality." Todorchev reports the attitude of the U.S. Press and radio stations toward events in Poland. Stressing that "even some circles here noted the special activization of the propaganda centers and the Western radio stations broadcasting in foreign languages," as well as the fact that Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America "will directly broadcast a meeting of Polish emigrants in Chicago," Todorchev concludes that "the tone and contents of the emigrant's speeches and appeals are acquiring an instigating and slanderous character." In addition, Todorchev maintains that "the noise around the Polish events," has been purposely created by the U.S. administration in order to obliterate events such as the adoption of the highest-ever military budget, the increase in military assistance for El Salvador, the strengthening of U.S. interference in Central America and the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel.

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 18 December, page 5, carries a 900-word unattributed BTA report on the situation in Poland. Frequently quoting PAP, the report notes a "decrease in crime," "normalization of the situation," and the 17 December declaration of the Military Council on National Salvation, stressing that "the steps of the Military Council are for the benefit of the entire Polish people."

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 18 December on page 3 carries a 2,000-word editorial commentary on the situation in Poland entitled "The Only Correct Road." The commentary describes "the deep concern of the Bulgarian people as they follow the 'creeping counterrevolution' and 'the dismantling' of socialism as a social system, which was a tactic designed and conducted by international reactionary centers." Describing "the crimes of Solidarity," the commentary stresses that "these criminal designs and acts necessitated the introduction of martial law." Further on the commentary describes "the normalization of the situation," stressing that this does not appeal to "these rightist trade unions in the West, as well as the spy centers, which wanted to see Poland deviate from the road of socialism." According to the commentary, it is the "noise of international reaction" that attests to the thwarting of its designs.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 19 December, page 5, carries a 900-word BTA report by K. Iliev entitled "The Situation in Poland." Continuously quoting PAP, Iliev reports that the normalization in Poland continues. He also points out that "the organs of the civilian and military prosecutor's offices have begun investigations concerning the activity of some counterrevolutionary groups and elements."

The same newspaper on page 5 carries a 600-word BTA report entitled "The Script Was Ready." The report is based on a ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI report of 18 December which maintains that Solidarity has discussed a "detailed plan for taking over power in Poland," and never adopted "draft document" to this effect.

The same newspaper on page 5 carries two TASS items. The first is a 400-word report on Solidarity documents seized by the authorities. According to the report, the documents include "instructions on behavior during martial law, directives on organizing strikes" and so forth. The second is a 1,200-word TASS declaration reacting to Reagan's statement on the situation in Poland.

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 19 December, page 3, carries Ivan Undzhiev's weekly international review, part of which -- a 900-word commentary -- deals with the situation in Poland. Stressing that "the Military Council is controlling the situation in the country," Undzhiev describes the reaction of "certain Western circles." He accuses the United States of "threatening Poland with economic and diplomatic sanctions" and points out that "this is not the first time the United States has tried to justify its interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries with the imaginary danger to so-called 'vital U.S. interests.'" Undzhiev states in conclusion that "the Polish patriots have the reliable moral support of the Bulgarian people and can rely on their active fraternal assistance."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 December on page 7 carries a 1,000-word report by BTA correspondent K. Iliev entitled "The Situation in Poland." Iliev quotes the 19 December communique of the Military Council on National Salvation and maintains that the normalization in Poland continues. A meeting and decisions of the government's Presidium are reported, including the increase in the "lowest monthly wages of the workers and employees." According to Iliev, "the trials of the counterrevolutionary elements will begin in the next few days."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 December carries on page 5 several reports on recent developments in Poland and reaction to them abroad. The page opens with a 900-word TASS report: "Decisive Measures Adopted by the Military Council of National Salvation." It refers to a communique issued by the Polish Ministry of Interior and dispatched through PAP on the situation in the country where, according to the communique, "martial law is being observed along general lines" and the "curfew has been shortened in certain areas." But in other areas and enterprises, "however, this measure cannot be adopted since subversive Solidarity elements continue to provoke unrest." The report mentions that "Solidarity criminals are blackmailing the authorities in a Katowice mine and are threatening to cause an explosion." Basing itself on Polish Radio and on TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the report describes activities and statements by the KSS-KOR "anticommunists" Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, "who indefatiguably strive for the conflagration of fratricidal war in Poland in order to bring back capitalism." The rest of the report is devoted to Western reaction to Polish events, described as "actual interference in the country's domestic affairs." The report closes with a quotation from TRYBUNA LUDU: "Poland, however, is being gradually resurrected and is once more taking its worthy place in the fraternal family of the socialist community."

This report is followed by a 700-word BTA report from Warsaw, entitled "life normalizes," which described improvements in the food supply and "restriction of the black market." This information is attributed to PAP and the Polish radio. The BTA report cites an interview with the Polish minister of domestic trade on improvements in supplies and on "small Christmas presents prepared in the enterprises for the working people's children." It mentions improvements in coal production and the "general improvement of working discipline in enterprises and among the citizens," adding that "Warsaw citizens have gone out to clear the streets of snow." The report also mentions a meeting of the Democratic Party Presidium where "the political situation and economic conditions were discussed" and the "necessity of strictly observing the martial law regulations" was confirmed.

A 600-word report by Warsaw correspondent Angel Bonev entitled "Order and Calm Return" describes the situation in Warsaw and mentions cases of citizens' spontaneously expressing gratitude to the military and militia forces patrolling the streets. "Aktivists of party organizations in large Warsaw enterprises have voluntarily joined the military forces to assist them in maintaining public order," Bonev remarks. He cites Polish Radio in reporting "street demonstrations in Gdansk where some people have been injured," adding that "irresponsible people tried to create disorder in Warsaw as well, but here the public did not support them." Bonev mentions the discovery of "documents in the headquarters of the so-called 'trade union' and of metal sticks filled with a special gas made in the West." Bonev adds in this respect: "The counterrevolution has prepared well for an armed attack against the government and only the resolute intervention of the army prevented it from implementing its bloodthirsty intentions. The counterrevolution still hopes to retrieve its losses."

Bonev closes his report by describing the miners', railroad workers' and other working people's efforts to increase production, and adds that "certain collectives have voluntarily prolonged their working days by several hours in order to produce more goods." He noted that "discipline is systematically improving" and that "after so many days of chaos, anarchy and arbitrariness, reassuring and gratifying reports and news are more and more frequently reaching us."

The last report on this page of RABOTNICHESKO DELO is a 2,000-word dispatch from New York by correspondent Georgi Todorchev entitled "The Policy of Double Standards," which refers to U.S. President Reagan's recent press conference on current world events. According to Todorchev, this press conference revealed "the two-faced political and moral standards of the White House, the subjectivism of political leadership in the United States and its criteria in conducting that country's foreign and domestic policy." Todorchev cites Reagan stressing the necessity "to render psychological support to Poland" and adds that the president "threatened to permanently ban food supplies to the Polish population by distorting the goals and intentions of the present Polish Government." The Bulgarian correspondent adds in this connection: "The President considered it appropriate to address drastic accusations to the Polish Government for the measures adopted to normalize life in the country, and he made obviously premeditated attempts to shift the 'responsibility' for events in Poland onto the Soviet Union with expressions, opinions and appeals which could easily be interpreted as interference in the domestic affairs of another country." Todorchev then describes statements by Richard Perle, U.S. deputy under secretary of state for defense, who reportedly said that "if the situation in Poland develops beyond certain limits, the United States will discontinue its trade relations with the USSR and interrupt the SALT talks." Todorchev quotes the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR as saying that "it will depend on the level of resistance in Poland whether any measures against the Soviet Union should be adopted," and that "the Polish crisis may strengthen Reagan's position vis-a-vis Congress when he demands an increase of military expenditures for 1983."

Todorchev adds that "political and ideological primitivism characterizes a number of official statements made these days in the United States." He quotes the Washington POST as noting "Reagan's attempts to blame the Soviets for the Polish crisis," and adds that "this actually fans anti-Polish and antisocialist hysteria among the monopolies' mass media." He further notes: "The screams of the emigres and extremists in this respect show an escalation since they have lost hope of bloodshed in Poland. It is a charateristic fact that the U.S. press passes over in silence, or plays down news and facts from Warsaw about a conspiracy against the government and about the arming of subversive elements and their provocations, and that the U.S. press continues in editorials and commentaries to insinuate 'ideas' about sabotage and armed resistance against the government."

Trade Union Daily

AU181443 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA) -- There follows a commentary of the "TRUD" daily, the organ of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, on the situation in Poland.

The daily emphasizes: "The Bulgarian working people, the entire Bulgarian people, take the imposing of the martial law in Poland as a positive act, the only right one in the present trail of events in that country".

The tragic avalanche of irresponsibility of the extreme right forces in "Solidarity" has brought the country to an absolute deadlock. The tactics of "creeping counter-revolution", of "dismantling" socialism as a social system, has been carried through step by step, under the baton of certain international centres.

The "Solidarity" extremists and the outright counterrevolutionaries used the mistakes of the former state leadership in the planning and management of the economy and society, in order to launch a counter-offensive on socialism, hiding behind the backs of the workers.

The so-called trade union alliance of "Solidarity" was a reliable shield of the reaction which had the opportunity to do its destruction acts under the mask of a trade union. In the course of time "Solidarity" unmasked its political nature and openly trenched upon the state power.

The "Solidarity" leaders together with the chiefs of the KSS-KOR counter-revolutionary, underground and anti-socialist organizations, dug in "Solidarity", have been pushing Poland to a critical point in a planned and stubborn way, employing the means of blackmail and pressure and under the dictat for strikes. The main task of the extremists was to sabotage, with all possible means, the efforts for saving the economy, for getting out of the economic ruin. The interests of the Polish workers concerned them only as far as they gave them the "rights" to throw mud on the Polish United Workers' Party and the state. These pretenders for the power in Poland, urged by the reactionary circles in the West and first of all in the USA, were posing already a real threat for the country's national independence. They switched over to overt preparations for seizing the power.

After lots of efforts for a dialogue, agreements and endless concessions on the part of the party and the state, springing from the desire to avoid confrontation, in the name of Poland's future, the martial law was imposed -- an urgent and the only right solution.

After its proclamation the life in Poland has been channelled into normal rails and conditions are being created for constructive and calm work. A trend comes up of stabilization of the political and economic situation regardless of the attempts of the "Solidarity" right forces to organize strikes and demonstrations. This opens a possibility to the Solidarity" membership mass who have nothing to do with the criminal extremist plots, to understand the real goals of the rightist forces.

The misled "Solidarity" members can and will surely find their place in the struggle for getting out of the political and economic crisis. As should be expected, many workers, members of "Solidarity" have come to understand that they have been led on a way fatal for their country and began to actively help the order forces to do away with the attempts at sabotage activity.

Obviously, the right trade unions in the West, the espionage centres, did not like the realistic and firm approach of the government. They are trying to interfere rudely in Poland's internal affairs, organize fussy demonstrations and protests. The world reaction led by the USA is shedding crocodile tears over the Polish workers, crying for their "freedom". Alexander Haig went as far as affording himself to prescribe to the Polish Government what to do, and the US Senate commission took a scandalous decision on economic pressure on Poland. The US reactionary trade union centre of AFL-CIO very rapidly became the patron of "Solidarity".

The State Department condemns the imposing of martial law in Poland without considering the fact that it is most unbecoming for Washington to speak of trade union freedoms. It is known with what cruelty the strike of avoidispatchers in the USA was smashed.

The hive of international reaction is stirred by the events in Poland and the most reactionary regimes in the world take a stand of defence of "Solidarity". This is an indication of the collapse of the plots of the world reaction to return Poland, with the help and under the cover of the "Solidarity" pseudo-trade-unionist centre, back to the bosom of capitalism.

The Bulgarian workers, the Bulgarian trade unions, are convinced that under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party the working class, the healthy forces in Poland, will manage to overcome the crisis, will resolutely resist any attempts of the internal and external reaction aimed at diverting the country from the road of socialism.

There is no other way for fraternal Poland.

Army Daily

AU191425 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 19 Dec 81

[BTA headline: "Poland: Decisive Measures in Defense of Socialism"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Dec (BTA) -- In its weekly international review "NARODNA ARMIYA" says that the week of martial law in Poland showed how timely and urgent were the measures to which the party of the Polish communists resorted in an effort to replace the political and social chaos with order and discipline, while fully complying with the Constitution and with the interests of the people.

The paper notes that very important was the understanding with which the Polish workers reacted to the measures and the support they rendered to the actions for averting the national catastrophe, for what is going on is nothing less than an uncompromising class struggle in which the forces loyal and committed to the cause of socialism and communism did not hesitate to take the responsibility for the successful end of the struggle can only be secured by the close relationship between all communists and patriots.

"NARODNA ARMIYA" says that against the background of the latest events in Poland, the way certain Western circles reacted cannot be overlooked. They saw how their plans for "change" in the direction they desired were failing and tried to strain the situation from without. The paper quotes examples of actions and threats on the part of the reactionary forces in the United States and the subversive "Free Europe" and "Liberty" radio stations generously financed by Washington, which directly urged the Polish citizens to put up an opposition, including measures of violence, against the efforts at bringing the situation in the country back to normal.

"It is true that the decisive moment has come" says the "NARODNA ARMIYA" commentary in conclusion. "But not the moment of what the enemies of socialism in Poland dreamt, but the moment of uprooting the counter-revolution, of doing away with the possibility of armed confrontation and civil war."

FILIPOV SENDS CONDOLENCES ON SHEHU DEATH

AU230901 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has sent a telegram of condolences to the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the death of Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania. Condolences are also extended to the family of the deceased.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, CRITICIZED

CSSR Aid to Poland

LD222300 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 22 Dec (CTK) -- Czechoslovakia will supply Poland with some kinds of consumer goods -- household utensils, electrical appliances, furniture, textiles, milk and other tinned food, medicines and other products.

Moreover, aid to Polish children is being organized in various parts of Czechoslovakia.

Polish Party Purge Continues

LD212212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] In Warsaw and in the majority of places in Poland, the second week of the state of emergency in a calm atmosphere. According to a telexed dispath by Frantisek Sojka, our permanent correspondent in Warsaw, enterprises, institutions and offices are working. However, certain tensions, provoked by counterrevolutionary forces from Solidarity, still exist in a few mines in the Katowice area and also in the ports of Szczecin and Gdansk. In Szczecin, on a decision of the management, production was stopped in the Warski shipyards where the hostile forces have been causing provocations. At places where they have been working, working people have been fulfilling their tasks properly. However, information from other Polish cities speaks about the growing understanding of the public and the gradual strengthening of working and civic discipline.

Statements of miners who managed to escape from mines where Solidarity has attempted to organize strikes speak about the terrorist methods used by Solidarity leaders in order to provoke disturbances. Counterrevolutionaries are holding working people there by force and those who would like to return to their families are being threatened with physical liquidation.

Party organizations are playing a great role in the normalization of the economy and public life. What is most important is that the initiative is coming from below and is being born from a feeling of a party responsibility for the future of Poland. Rank-and-file members of the party, who personally want to help in this complex time in the struggle against the plans of antisocialist forces, continue to step forward. This is the case in Koszalin, Przemysl and so on. In the factory producing telephone equipment in Warsaw, the enterprise organization has established a close cooperation with party organizations in enterprises in the neighborhood. Members of the PZPR are active in the struggle against speculation.

The consolidation of party ranks and the purge of people whose activity has brought harm to the party also continue. Frantisek Sojka, our permanent correspondent in Warsaw, ends his telexed dispatch.

Urban Views Martial Law

LD212326 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Warsaw correspondent (Rostizlav Bayer) interview in Warsaw with Polish Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban -- recorded; date not given; question and answer in Polish with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] [Question] How does the government assess the week which has gone by under martial law in Poland? How does the government assess the condition of the public and the condition of the [word indistinct] situation in industry and in society in Poland?

[Answer] It is very difficult to evaluate such an unusual situation because it is still too new. But in any case we appreciate especially the fact that the Solidarity leadership was unable to provoke either a general strike or almost some kind of a civil war for which it was striving. There were resolutions calling for large demonstrations on 17 December. There were none in Warsaw, nor was there a general strike. Efforts to incite society against the state power have not proved successful. Primarily because of this, we have to view developments as favorable for the Polish nation and the Polish state and also for the common cause of all of us.

Second, the Solidarity leaders counted on the fact [word indistinct] that if the law-and-order forces or the army were to be used to normalize the situation in Poland, these forces or the army would refuse to carry out orders. It has been proved, however, that these hopes of theirs were quite absurd. All armed forces, the forces of law and order and the military, have fulfilled their tasks responsibly, devotedly and with a high standard of discipline.

Obviously, society is shocked by what has happened, but even more and in greater numbers it expresses its approval. In any case, the prevailing attitude is one of understanding, understanding of the fact that this was necessary because such a deterioration of the state and the economy in our country could continue no longer.

An even greater part of society understands the necessity of the state of emergency and the fact that it has been declared and that it is functioning in the interests of society.

One of the features of this situation is the improvement of order in the economy and better results in production in many branches, despite the fact that in some production enterprises there still exist some small isolated areas of disorder and attempts to organize strikes. Some of these attempts have been successful and therefore the law-and-order forces have to act according to the martial law and liquidate the strikes, which are prohibited. But we can say that these isolated areas are not very numerous. They are some kind of remnants of such activity. Calm now prevails in Poland; and in many areas, thanks to the fact that restrictions have been eased and the economic apparatus can function normally, improved results in production can be seen.

Wujek Mine Incident Described

AU211250 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 81 p 7

["UL"-signed dispatch by RUDE PRAVO's special correspondent: "Testimony From the Wujek Mine"]

[Text] "First they beat us with sticks and handles of shovels and threatened to use axes. Then they drove us to the locker rooms, to soften us up as they said. We will teach you the meaning of discipline. When there is a strike, it applies to everyone."

It gives you goose pimples when you listen to the story of this miner from the Wujek mine in the Katowice area, who was eyewitness to the counterrevolutionaries' havoc that ultimately claimed 7 human lives and some 80 injuries. Far from all employees of this mine wanted to violate the laws of the state of emergency. The majority of the miners was determined to go down to the pit, as usual. Yet members of "Solidarity's" storm troops intervened, the identity cards of many having stamps showing Gdansk or Warsaw as their permanent place of residence. Quickly, with the help of transmitters, they organized gangs of people like themselves. A radio station, prepared for the event of a confrontation with state organs as proclaimed at "Solidarity's" Radom meeting, was ready in the house of miners nearby.

The miner's story continues: "They closed the gates to the enterprise and isolated those who did not succeed in fleeing in time or refused to join the strike. From the locker room windows we observed the storm troopers' preparations for the possible arrival of public security order-enforcing units; practicing with steel spears to be used like bayonets and the distribution of Molotov cocktails [zapalne lahve].

"'Join us,' they roared. 'We have received a report that the government is finished. From now on Solidarity has got power.'"

We are told about the whole action taken by members of public security and the Polish People's Army. Even after 15 of them had been injured, none reached for a weapon. A few times they retreated, calling for reason. Additional blows and a burning tank were the response.

Only when there was no other alternative did the members of the security corps begin to defend themselves, says the miner who has the appearance of a tough guy. But he can no longer fight back his tears. "When, finally, will reason prevail in our country! When will people recognize who wishes them well? Why do they let themselves be provoked by those who have for more than a year been striving to seize power, at any price, even at the price of blood!"

Two hours later we were told that the mine here was only one of the so-called strongholds for the event of a confrontation with the government. That is why "Solidarity" emissaries from Gdansk and Warsaw gathered here, as in the Katowice steel mill 30 km from here where the provocation still persists. We did not succeed in getting near it. A group of counter-revolutionaries has entrenched itself in the oxygen plant and threatens to blow it up. It has been proved that they maintain radio communication with a Western representative office.

Why do the security corps and the army not attack them there, we hear people in a crowd near a group of armored vehicles ask. We are trying it by peaceful means, we want to persuade them that the whole action is senseless, is the answer of one of the [security corps' or army] members.

Do you think that they would be equally considerate toward you? One of the sources of this question are certainly reports coming from the southern part of the Upper Silesia coal basin. At one of the mines counterrevolutionaries "fighting" under the banner of "Solidarity" got hold of a warehouse with explosives. They distributed the explosives in various places. They will allegedly destroy the entire enterprise, should the state of emergency -- which they themselves, in fact, provoked -- not be revoked.

We are passing by Jastrzebie, the third place -- next to Gdansk and Szczecin -- where last August representatives of the so-called strike committees, which later turned into "Solidarity" committees, solemnly swore that they would be concerned exclusively with improving social conditions. They even endorsed the PZPR's leading role. Here, too, as recently as last week, voices could be heard calling for a bloody settling of accounts with communists and with everyone even only favorably disposed to them.

Report on Sosnowiec

AU211452 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Dec 81 p 7

[Report by RUDE PRAVO special correspondent signed "UL": "Encounter in Sosnowiec"]

[Text] We arrived in Sosnowiec on Thursday, knowing that counterrevolution had bared its teeth already a few months ago in this city with a population of more than a quarter of a million. At the end of the summer, "Solidarity's" storm troopers arrested the political leadership and economic management of the mine here. With sticks and chains they were chasing people out of workshops, beating them to a pulp when they refused to leave their workplaces. A few weeks later they provoked a conflict by using gas on miners waiting in front of the mine's gate to drive home.

"Although the worst subversives and organizers of antistate actions had been isolated, this does not at all mean that a period of calmness has begun," we are informed by Jan Zielinski, first secretary of the city party committee. "The first 2 days after the proclamation of the state of emergency intimated that the situation was gradually normalizing. But today proves that the difficult struggle has only just begun."

Jan Zielinski enumerates one example after another. According to the so-called "Solidarity's" mobilization plans -- its program of confrontation which was to afflict the whole of Poland -- in Silesia, too, shadow [duplicitni] structures of the command [rizeni] of this organization have been set up, "the second, alternate guard" in its terminology. And precisely that one is today trying to continue to errode socialism, organize attacks on the army and members of the security corps. This has also been confirmed to us in the Fakop enterprise, which manufactures high pressure boilers.

"All of a sudden those who -- as it seemed earlier -- used to play only second fiddle in 'Solidarity' had swung into action," welder Jerzy Cupial tells us. "In the past months they got used to impunity and now they do not respect even the laws of the state of emergency. The majority of the workers in our enterprise breathed with downright relief on Sunday. Finally a step toward order, we told ourselves."

We are being informed that after a 2-day break, the "Solidarity's" activists continue their instigatory work and keep on disrupting the consolidation of life and work. Despite the interrupted telephone and teletype service and despite having their motor vehicles taken away from them, they continue to have various kinds of contacts with a number of enterprises.

A moment before our arrival, Miloslaw Foreniak, first secretary of the PZPR enterprise committee, informed his fellow workers about the activity of the leaders of the "Solidarity" enterprise organization. In the morning they were trying to drive some labor brigades into a strike.

"You cannot imagine -- do not be angry that I say it like that -- how I envy your people their tranquillity, their good climate for work," the young first secretary says. He has not held the function long yet. He worked as a technician and also visited Czechoslovakia several times. He remembers his friends from the Neratovice Spolana, the Ostrava mineral oils refinery. "Tell them to appreciate what they have, to strengthen the socialist system so that they would not have to live through such terrible times as we Poles do today."

During our journey to Mikolov we came across the events in the Wujek mine. We had to turn off from the main road because it was blocked by armored personnel carriers. Commands are heard and the column begins to move in the direction of the mine.

Counterrevolutionaries had occupied the buildings of the enterprise; they illegally occupied public buildings. They refused to comply with the order to leave them. Steel javelins, chains and iron balls rained from roofs and out of windows on the members of the public security corps. Later Molotov cocktails [zapalne lahve] fell on an army armored vehicle. Forty-one soldiers and members of the security corps were injured.

One of the apprehended storm troopers admitted that "Solidarity's" chieftains from several regions also hid in the mine, even from the Warsaw "Solidarity." Also the followers of Moczulski and the KOR are not missing among them, we are informed.

Report on Situation 18 Dec

LD182152 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Report by Frantisek Sojka, resident correspondent in Warsaw; read by announcer]

[Text] When I was driving around the Polish capital today I saw what is now a familiar picture: calm, patrolling soldiers and the people of Warsaw walking along the streets and doing their shopping. Yesterday's attempt to provoke unrest had been liquidated practically without the use of force. The rowdies had scattered at the first sight of members of the armed forces and the public security service. The fact that out of 8 people detained not a single person had come from Warsaw is significant.

The events at the Wujek colliery have provoked a feeling of sadness and indignation, a sadness over the victims and astonishment and indignation at the fact that the counter-revolutionary extremists used force. With chains, hammers and axes they attacked members of law enforcement units who only when protecting their own lives used firearms.

I feel, that the words of a middle-aged man I heard this morning in a self-service shop are in keeping with the general opinion: I did not believe previously that there really existed counterrevolutionary forces. But as one can see. they do really exist and deserve the harshest punishment.

One is able to hear similar views more often these days. This is because the public, among other things, have been able to acquaint themselves with the criminal plans of Solidarity and antistate organizations to provoke a civil war and to take power. The counter-revolutionary scenario envisaged the formation of centers of active resistance against the people's power not only in factories but also in housing quarters and even in individual apartment buildings.

Reports coming from all parts of the country deliver the same message People are longing above all for calm and order. At the same time, one has to say that not everyone understands the complexity of the situation and the necessity for certain restrictions. Radio and television are patiently explaining to the public the aims of the current strict measures and the consequences stemming from them. One can assess positively the fact that work is beginning also in those factories where attempts to provoke strikes were made during the past few days. The restoration of full labor productivity however remains a problem. Activists of the PZPR, who in factories and in their neighborhood are persuading the public by explaining that the main aim of the state of emergency is to restore normal social, political and economic life in Poland, are having an increasingly more significant share in the continuing normalization.

Media Cited on Production

LD191802 Prague CTK in English 1528 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Dec (CTK) -- All enterprises of the engineering, chemical and light industries, smelting works and an overwhelming majority of mines work normally in the Katowice area, Polish Television announced last night.

The pits Wujek, Julian, Brzeszcze and Andaluzia have resumed work after former strikes, and 523,000 tons of coal were produced in the area Thursday, which is 23,000 tons more than the previous day.

Supplying of population with food is also improving. Deliveries of bread grew by 20-25 percent in the last few days, those of milk by 4 percent. The purchase of potatoes has also increased, but it does not cover the need.

Yesterday, all industrial enterprises, shops and transport worked normally in Warsaw and many other voivodships.

Normalization and the enhancing of work discipline can be seen in metallurgy and engineering. All smelting works in Silesia work normally. Deliveries and supplies of coal in power stations provide sufficient heating of housing estates and smooth running of production, the Warsaw Radio stated today.

It also announced that there are ever more "Solidarity" officials who dissociate themselves from extremist elements, support the socialist system in the country and recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers asked the ministers, leading officials of central offices, top regional officials and mayors to guarantee the running of respective institutions also today from 8:30 to 1 p.m.

Planes of the Polish Airlines LOT, reserved for foreigners and Polish citizens travelling on business flew from Warsaw to Paris, London and Zurich today.

The Polish paper TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI informed today that over 500 bullets, grenades, three firearms and many batons and bayonets were found in the Parnica dock in Szczecin.

TRYBUNA LUDU also pointed to the reactions of the West to the declaration of the state of emergency in Poland and branded them a gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland which flows from the efforts of the West to use Poland in the political and military confrontation between East and West.

The game was not for Poland, but with it, TRYBUNA LUDU said and emphasized the positive changes which occurred thanks to the decisive and energic stand of the army. The country returns to peace and order.

Military Council Supported

LD192158 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 19 Dec 81

["Commentary of the Week"]

[Text] While Poland has been in the center of world attention ever since August 1980, since the declaration of the state of emergency in that country, the worldwide interest has been even more pronounced. But it should be added that not all those reporting on events in Poland attempt to interpret the developments truthfully. One can hardly expect forces -- which up till now have been giving their backing to Poland's counterrevolutionaries and have been gloating the decline of the country's economy as well as political life -- to change their views overnight. Bourgeois circles in the West and the mass media under their control have set out to distort especially those actions in Poland which prevented the outbreak of a civil war in that country.

The lack of political realism in the American official stand toward the events in Poland is clearly motivated by (?disenchantment) over the fact that the state of emergency in Poland has weakened the positions of counterrevolutionaries. Everyone who attentively listened to the speech by General Jaruzelski when declaring the state of emergency and reading a statement of the Military Council of National Salvation realized that this was the only possible step to prevent civil war in Poland. The sessions of the Solidarity organization in Radom and Gdansk had confirmed that the extremists were already to have unleashed by the end of this year a campaign designed to seize power. The scheduled occupation of Warsaw Radio and a general strike which was to have led to the downfall of all executive and legislative bodies were measures made public beforehand. Then there is evidence provided by documents seized in the Warsaw headquarters of the Solidarity organization, including instructions for kidnapping blackmail, sabotages and murders. In the last days of December the counterrevolutionaries in Poland were planning to drive the situation to a head in an effort to topple socialist power in the bloodbath of a civil war. That is why the patriotic forces in Poland had to take emergency measures to protect the socialist system. Under the given circumstances the decision of the State Council to declare the state of emergency and the formation of the Military Council represented the only feasible move to avert a national tragedy in Poland.

The developments of the past week have shown, however, that the extremists had not given up their plans and continued to provoke bloody conflict. Poland is now experiencing its most difficult period in its postwar history.

The state of emergency in the country has provided a framework for repelling an onslaught of counterrevolution and for introducing law and order. In these difficult moments Poland is enjoying the full support of all the other socialist countries. The fraternal socialist states view developments in Poland as their [as heard] internal affair and support the efforts of the Military Council to consolidate the situation and defend socialism because socialism, as emphasized by General Jaruzelski, is the only path for a happy future in Poland.

USSR, CSSR Border Troops Ready

NC182310 Paris AFP in English 2305 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Prague, 18 Dec (AFP) -- Troop movements in Czechoslovakia near the Polish border are more numerous than usual, reliable Western sources said here today.

The Soviet and Czech troops in this area have been ordered to maintain a state of "caution", which is a state of readiness just under a "state of alert", the sources said. The furloughs of many soldiers also have been cancelled.

Five Soviet divisions totalling 80,000 soldiers are stationed in northern Czechoslovakia within 100 kilometers (62 miles) of Poland, along with two Czech divisions.

Solidarity's Counterrevolution

AU181525 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Dec 81 p 7

[Milan Jelinek article: "Only a Few Days Remained.... How the Counterrevolution Was Being Prepared"]

[Text] When "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa declared the tactics of "lightning maneuver" at the secret conference thatopened in Radom on 4 December, it was obvious that the preparations for a counterrevolutionary action had come toa head. Only a few days remained before the start of the attack, the delivery of the blow to the social structures of socialist Poland. The resolute measures of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic -- the setting up of a Military Council of National Salvation and the proclamation of a state of emergency [vyjimecny stav] -- have prevented the very worst, a disaster that could have had immeasurable consequences for the Polish people. These measures were imperative, urgent, and they arrived in time, literally at the very last moment.

The "Solidarity" leadership, together with other reactionary organizations, had strikingly accelerated its preparations for a power reversal [mocensky prevrat] since the middle of November. The beginning of December was also a critical period. It was exactly at "Solidarity's" Radom session that the decision came to overthrow the government and to take over power in the country. The following Gdansk deliberations already dealt with the coordination and execution of the plans adopted in Radom, as well as with the choice of a suitable moment for starting the actions.

At the Radom conference, Walesa and other "Solidarity" representatives worked out a program. In the first place, they confirmed the long-term political line of the organization, a line followed by it from its very establishment. "The confrontation is inevitable. It will undoubtedly take place," Walesa said. He stressed that "Solidarity" had been preparing for it according to plan and that a direct confrontation with the people's government and the PZPR was the pivotal goal.

The secret conference voted for a change of tactics. In abandoned the gradual waterdown of the acticities of state bodies and the incapacitation of the government, as well as the economic pauperization of the country through strikes, to which it had been resorting up to then.

Walesa declared: "We will not get far with these tactics"; and a few days later he declared in Gdansk: "The policy of small steps has yielded no results." It was decided to take a "great step" and to cut through the situation in "Solidarity's" favor in a violent counterrevolutionary action -- the "lightning maneuver."

At the conference, the chiefs of the "Solidarity's" regional organizations specified the strategic goals. Bujak from Warsaw demanded the establishment of a "provisional government"; Rozwalak from Poznan said: "The government must be overthrown, unmasked, deprived of trust"; Rulewski from Bydgoszcz suggested that an attack be started against the state bodies, and "at any price"; Sobieraj from Radom wanted the "Solidarity" apparatus to take over the state administration.

An important role was to be played in preparations for the uprising by "Solidarity's" "storm troops." These units -- 250-300-men strong -- were being set up in Poland's industrial areas. "Solidarity" bosses were feverishly organizing their consolidation, their management and command structure, striving in the last few days to increase their numbers, to create a real army, to assign detailed tasks to individual combat groups.

The setting-up of these storm troops proved that the political conclusions of the Radom conference were immediately being carried out. On the eve of the counterrevolution, "Solidarity's" regional organizations attained particular significance. It was obviously they that were meant to start the individual actions, which later were to merge into a united stream.

This can be demonstrated by the procedure of "Solidarity's" Warsaw organization, which was headed by the militant reactionary Zbigniew Bujak. After the Radom conference he departed for his headquarters in Warsaw, where one of "Solidarity's" largest branches was in operation; and, undoubtedly in harmony with the overall plan, he began fulfilling those points for which he was responsible. He appealed for a "direct confrontation with the government and the Polish state and party leadership"; and he appealed for immediate confrontation, at once, "even if one should lose." He set up the bloody slogan, "The situation is aiming toward one issue -- to act, or to die."

The attack on Polish radio and television premises, and their occupation and seizure was planned for 17 December. In this way "Solidarity" wanted to acquire simultaneous control over the most significant mass communications media. At the same time and on the same day, all-national "protest rallies" were to explode. The "Solidarity" center counted on their going over into a general strike.

Dozens of emissaries set out from Gdansk; tens of special commissioners, who were to direct the actions in Poland's individual regions. One of the directives, which these emissaries were to use for stirring up unrest, said: "The power bodies are no longer capable of leading the country," and that was why "Solidarity" was taking over. In the Szczecin and Radom Voivodships and elsewhere, leaflets appeared which called the day of 20 December the "day of reckoning" with the Polish communists.

The actual content of the counterrevolutionary script was its secret pages; and obviously the entire extent of the script is today still unknown. A considerable role was played by the subversive illegal organizations, by extremely reactionary clubs which dreamt of a rebirth of ideas and conditions of the prewar, bourgeois Poland of landowners -- such as "Confederation for an Independent Poland." On 10 December it called for the proclamation of a general strike; it acknowledged that it was the main organizer of the liquidation and of driving of basic party organizations from the plants; and it stated with pride that it was succeeding, that it could mark successes, and the support of "Solidarity" functionaries in the first place.

The country was flooded by heckling, provocative literature, full of fanatical hatred toward socialism and fanning out nationalist, chauvinist passions. Attacks were multiplying on Poland's ties of alliance. There were even demands for the Polish People's Republic to leave the Warsaw Pact; doubts were cast on the present Polish-Soviet borders; and the history of Poland's liberation by the Soviet Army from Hitlerite invaders was distorted.

The "Solidarity" leadership ostentatiously rejected dialogue, deliberations and talks. In Radom Walesa said uncompromisingly: "No fronts of national accord! In any serious matters, only 'Solidarity' will make the decisions." They chose the other path, the path of counterrevolution.

One month has passed since the terrible words uttered by Marian Jurczyk, well-known and powerful "Solidarity" representative and chief of its Szczecin branch: "The time of cuddling has ended; let them shout what they want, we should not be interested.... It could happen that it might be necessary to set up the gallows for some persons, and to string them up. In my opinion it would not hurt to set up a few of these gallows even now." The Polish patriots, communists, the people's government, the army have prevented, in the most vital interests of the working people of fraternal Poland, the fulfillment of this prophecy of bloodshed, disaster and ruin.

OTHER COUNTRIES' REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS VIEWED

Changes, GDR Aid Praised

LD221748 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Developments confirm that a number of positive changes have occurred in the country over the past week. The introduction of the state of emergency put an end to strikes in most parts of Poland and this is naturally having a discernible influence on the functioning of the Polish economy. Reports from Poland indicate that more than 90 percent of industrial plants are working and that (?delivery) is improving, especially in mining, metallurgy and engineering. An increase in coal extraction is important not only for the economy but also for (?securing) electricity and heat supplies to homes. Food supplies have improved and, after the initial excitement following the introduction of emergency measures, the tension among Polish citizens is gradually easing. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that the night curfew has been considerably shortened in most Polish regions.

The calming down, however, does not mean the restoration of order in the whole country. The machinery of destruction was prepared for a year and a half by extremists from Solidarity, Social Self-Defense Committee, or Moczulski's so-called Confederation. They are still trying to put their shoulders to the wheel, using the same methods today as they did yesterday. Extremists still hope that they will manage to kindle new conflicts which will turn into a bloody civil war.

The revelation that plans to disrupt people's power in Poland, mostly connected with the date of 15 December, shows that the anti-Polish plot was broadly organized and the isolated hotbeds of provocation even under the emergency measures prove that the initiators of the counterrevolution had their plans well prepared. Every day brings new evidence that but for the introduction of the state of emergency and the Polish Army's active entry into the country's political life Poland would have now seen a national tragedy whose impact and consequences are impossible to estimate.

After all, a number of forces in the West which incited the Polish counterrevolution calculated on such a development. They are continuing their dirty game even now by exerting pressure on Poland, especially in connection with food aid to that country. It is said that a friend in need is a friend indeed. The Polish people now have the chance to convince themselves of the profound truth of this proverb.

While the West is speculating on what to do to realize its political intentions connected with Poland most effectively, Poland's socialist neighbors are coming with concrete and, in the given situation, doubly valuable aid.

The GDR can be an example (?for all). Such campaigns as aid to children in People's Poland and Christmas parcels for Polish children show that solidarity with Poland is nationwide in the GDR. Every day trains and trucks carrying medicines, food and clothing leave for Poland. The GDR's trade unions have released M10 million from their solidarity fund for this aid. Milk and milk products for Polish children are continuously being supplied from border areas. Concrete aid comes also in the framework of friendship ties at various levels. For example, from Magdeburg a train is carrying 100,000 Christmas parcels for Poland, and this is just one example for all.

U.S. Reaction Scored

LD221414 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Editor Stefan Simak commentary]

[Text] In connection with the Polish crisis that has been going on for more than 16 months and which has impoverished the Polish economy and the state, together with the growing arrogance and unbridled demands submitted by the extremist leaders of Solidarity, leading White House officials have frequently made abundantly clear their pleasure at the development of events and by tirelessly giving various words of advice and warnings they have assumed patronage of the antisocialist forces, which have come to dominate the leadership of this trade union organization. Their advice, which has of course been given in various disguises, has been primarily directed at the exponents of the antisocialist political doctrines, and their warnings have issued from the mouths of individual secretaries or even the President himself, always whenever the Polish Government has made clear its resolve to protect the state in the face of economic and social collapse.

Since the first day of unrest in Poland the United States has been striving to provoke a wave of anti-Soviet hysteria by nurturing various invented information and assumptions about an alleged intervention planned by Moscow. At the time when Western reaction was almost certain that Poland would not find the inner strength to adopt resolute action to halt the process of disintegration within the country, it began to stress that Poland would have to resolve the crisis by its own will and by its own effort.

The disappointment at the steps taken by the Military Council and at the proclamation of the state of emergency is too great, as is shown, but the arguments which are being submitted to denigrate this decision are also too weak. This has been confirmed by the statement made by U.S. President Ronald Reagan who, gripped by the despair of ill will, is now trying to organize some kind of united, coordinated anti-Polish policy. Immediately after his statements about the alleged unimaginable terror, violence and the trampling underfoot of human rights and democracy in Poland, Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, left for London, to visit later other West European states, to have talks with the political representatives of NATO. According to the White House, it will be necessary to prepare new strategic plans because, as the newspaper Washington POST has said, the development of the situation in Poland is unfavorable for NATO.

It is clear that (?NATO) has miscalculated in its judgement about the situation in the Polish Army. For this reason until further steps are agreed, the American President has reached for the first weapon to hand and has reaffirmed his refusal to provide economic aid and especially food to Poland and is now endeavoring to persuade other West European governments to come to a similar decision. As it is being shown, pressure will have to be exerted mainly on Bonn, which insists on pursuing a policy of noninterference in the internal affairs of Poland, refusing to link economic matters with political issues.

In the aforementioned statement on Polish events, American President Ronald Reagan also described the latest development of the situation as a violation of the Helsinki accords. The main argument is the internment of Solidarity leaders. Of course, the American President fails to recall that in the summer of 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was signed, the American CIA, like other centers of diversion, increased its activity against the socialist countries. The outcome of this activity was the emergence of the so-called Committee for Political and Social Self-Defense and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. The exponents of both groupings came to dominate Solidarity and they dictated to it a program of a political party in total opposition to the socialist order in Poland. This ultimately resulted in the logical conclusion brought about by recent days.

In his statement, Ronald Reagan failed to conceal his bitter disappointment at the fact that the designs to turn Poland into a fifth column within the socialist community have failed to materialize. And so more advice and more warnings are addressed to Warsaw. The Military Council of National Salvation is to repeal the state of emergency, regardless of the internal situation, and as a reward it is promised economic aid. Of course, among this advice and these warnings there are none addressed to the extremist leaders of Solidarity, who are trying to drive people into armed conflict. So it is crystal clear that the aim of that statement is to prevent the consolidation of economic and social life in Poland. Economically solid, politically united and above all socialist Poland is, of course, not what the American President is interested in.

Western Radios Attacked

AU221531 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 81 p 6

[Julius P. Loerincz article: "Instructions for Counterrevolution in Poland via Radios; Airwaves Expose Diversionists" -- Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE NUMBER OF VARIOUS CODED, BUT ALSO OPEN MESSAGES AND DIRECT INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ANTISOCIALIST AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN POLAND -- ESPECIALLY ON SHORT WAVE -- HAVE INCREASED RECENTLY. THE DIVERSIONIST CENTERS OF THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES ARE TRYING, BY MEANS OF THE RESPONSE TO THESE BROADCASTS, TO VERIFY TO WHAT EXTENT THE VARIOUS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMANDOS IN POLAND WERE AFFECTED BY THE INTERVENTION OF THE SECURITY CORPS AND THE ARMY AFTER THE IMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, AND ARE STRIVING TO MAINTAIN TENSION AND CREATE NEW CONFLICTS IN THE COUNTRY.

After the internment of "Solidarity's" reactionary leadership and the arrest of the great majority of various organizers of counterrevolution, after severing the contacts between those who have so far succeeded in escaping internment, many Western radios have assumed the role of some sort of coordinator of destructive activities. However, thanks to the resolute course of the Polish Military Council of National Salvation and the activation of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the PZPR, they did not succeed in organizing the planned general strike on Thursday, 17 December, or the extensive demonstrations which were to replace the big strike. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE TRAGIC EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY IN KATOWICE AND GDANSK, AND WHICH HAVE BEEN THE MOST DRAMATIC SINCE 13 DECEMBER THUS FAR, WERE INSTIGATED TO A GREAT EXTENT PRECISELY BY INSTRUCTIONS BEAMED BY RADIO PROPAGANDA TO POLAND. The radio propaganda has already been markedly stepped up since Sunday, in particular since Monday [14 December] in broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, but also in other Western radios.

Direct Instructions for Subversion

The broadcasts of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, today controlled by the American Council for International Broadcasting, have always been oriented in this destructive spirit.

AS FOR POLAND, SINCE THE SUMMER OF 1980 THEY HAVE INCREASED THE EXTENT OF THEIR POLISH-LANGUAGE SERVICES BY 20 HOURS, AND ALREADY ON 9 SEPTEMBER 1980 THE FRENCH AFP NEWS AGENCY REPORTED THAT LATELY ALSO RADIO FREE EUROPE'S TRANSMITTER IN LISBON BEGAN BROADCASTING "CODED INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE POLISH UNDERGROUND." In this they had practice from 1956, in connection with the counterrevolutionary attack in Hungary, and later from the 1968-69 years during the events in Czechoslovakia. WHAT IS INVOLVED IS NOT ONLY PROVIDING THE ANTISOCIALIST AND COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS WITH ORIENTATION AID, BUT IN THE CRITICAL DAYS AND WEEKS WITH DAILY TACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS. This, for example, is confirmed when one compares the content of last week's broadcast with the course of the "Solidarity" leadership deliberations in Gdansk on Friday and Saturday 11 and 12 December, and later also the broadcasts from those days with some subversive actions aimed against normalization, as mentioned before in Katowice and Gdansk.

Long Arm of the United States

Radios Liberty and Free Europe were founded at the beginning of the fifties and directly controlled by the CIA until 1972, which since then does it through intermediaries. At the beginning of the seventies, a wave of issues, which remain topical even today, emerged in the FRG, where the headquarters of the two radios are located, as to whether their activity is in accordance with the sovereignty and independence of the Federal Republic and the process of the relaxation of tension and cooperation in Europe. Yesterday in Washington, U.S. President Ronald Reagan was accusing all and sundry of violating the CSCE Final Act, but somehow, when doing so, forgot the United States.

THE FINAL ACT STATES THAT THE "EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION IS TO SERVE THE UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONS." THE OBVIOUS DIVERSIONIST ACTIVITY OF RADIO LIBERTY AND FREE EUROPE IS AT SHARP VARIANCE WITH THAT, HOWEVER. This is so despite the fact that the head of the Polish language service, Z. Michalowski, earnestly asserted on the screen of Vienna Television this week (what an exalting objectivity of Austrian radio and television!) that their main interest is to spread "responsible and all-round information."

Not-so-Secret Secret War

A former employee of Radio Free Europe described the character of the radio's information and the entire broadcasts in the Munich magazine KUERBISKERN as follows: "THE ACTIVITY OF RADIO FREE EUROPE IS DIVIDED INTO TWO DIFFERENT LEVELS -- PROPAGANDA AND -- WHAT IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT -- THE SECRET SERVICE. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE PROPAGANDA WORK IS TO SYSTEMATICALLY FAN UNREST AND TENSION IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.... THE KEY OBJECTIVE IS WORK AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION WITH THE AIM OF EVOKING IN ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES A NEGATIVE STANCE VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION."

Even the rightist Hamburg DIE WELT has openly written that "Radios Liberty and Free Europe are emplying methods of psychological warfare." A special directive of the American Council for International Broadcasting, which now directly controls the two radios, says that "PSYCHOLOGICAL ACTIONS ARE TAKEN IN PEACETIME OR IN REGIONS LOCATED OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE WAR THEATER IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE THE FEELINGS, THE STANCES OR THE BEHAVIOR OF ALIEN GROUPS IN A WAY THAT WOULD BENEFIT THE POLICY AND GOALS OF THE UNITED STATES." Frank Shakespeare, a member of this council, who is also a member of the two radios' collegium of directors, said in the Senate of the U.S. Congress this autumn that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are an "extraordinarily important instrument for accomplishing U.S. foreign policy objectives." OBVIOUSLY, HIS PERSUASION MUST HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL, SINCE THE AMERICAN CONGRESS HAS APPROVED $98 MILLION FOR THE TWO RADIOS FOR 1982 ($4 MILLION MORE THAN FOR THIS YEAR), AND ONE WAS NOT EVEN DISCUSSING THE CIA'S SECRET FUNDS. In the past 20 years (that is, also after 1972), the CIA alone invested into the upkeep and operation of this diversionist apparatus of the airwaves more than half a billion dollars!

WHAT, THEN, HAS THIS DIVERSIONIST ACTIVITY ON THE AIR IN COMMON WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT? NOTHING. OR, TO PUT IT MORE ACCURATELY, THIS IS A VERY CLEAR CASE OF VIOLATION OF THE LETTER OF THE POLITICAL, LEGAL AND ETHICAL CONTENT OF THE FINAL ACT, UNDER WHICH THERE ALSO IS THE SIGNATURE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE HEADS OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES AND GOVERNMENTS.

British Communists Criticized

AU211324 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Dec 81 p 7

[Julius P. Loerincz commentary: "What Perfect Democrats They Were!"]

[Text] Heartrending lamentations turning into hysterical exclamations calling, as it were, for total political and economic war against real socialism -- that is how we might characterize the response by some bourgeois politicians to the latest developments in Poland. When this concerns people like the descendants of Polish aristocrats and one of the most infamous American anticommunists Zbigniew Brzezinski, it is rather understandable. It is worse when official government authorities -- in Washington, for example, or in Rome or Paris -- cannot restrain their frustrated ambition and thwarted plans and notions about subverting real socialism. Consciously or, possibly, unconsciously -- as is, most likely, the case in the French capital -- they succumb to false and fabricated information. Hidden behind all this, however, is the irresponsible and dangerous willingness -- and, what is more, frequently the aim -- to sustain tension. What is not involved, regardless of the impression they would like to create with their words, is a sincere interest in a stabilization and normalization of conditions in Poland.

Strangely enough, a similar language full of lamentation has found its way into the position of the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It asserts that the declaration of the state of emergency in Poland was a "serious step backward in the process of democratic and socialist renewal."

What is the British comrades' aim? Were they seized with a desire to warm their soup at bourgeois propaganda's fire or do they really not understand the content and the connections of the events in Poland? Are they incapable of recognizing who's who?! Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's Sunday speech as well as the efforts by genuine Marxist-Leninists in the PZPR in these difficult days clearly show that they are doing everything they can to avert a confrontation and to create conditions for renewing the country precisely on socialist foundations. Or did, in the eyes of some British and other comrades, the reactionary "Solidarity" leaders, who -- as is shown by documents of the Mazowsze "Solidarity" regional leadership -- were getting ready literally to set Poland on fire and blow it up, represent the "democratic and socialist renewal"?!

Terrir, subversive terrorist activities, abductions of people, acts of sabotage, murders, digging up streets, setting houses on fire -- the documents calculate with cynical cold-bloodedness with all this as methods of "Solidarity's" struggle. Are these the exponents of "democratic and socialist renewal"? Perfect "democrats," no doubt! They did not omit anything in the ominous program of overt counterrevolution and did not even fail to consider the "fighters' moral and religious education." How human this is! It is reminiscent of the Middle Ages at the time of the crusaders and the Inquisition -- murders and suppression of progress in the name of the cross.

The declaration of the state of emergency was and is directed against such "democrats" and that is why it is in no case a step back but an important act creating conditions for a consistently socialist political way out of the Polish crisis.

Friends, Enemies Described

AU211259 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Dec 81 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny article in column "We Comment": "Poland's Friends and Enemies"]

[Text] The important events which occurred in the Polish People's Republic recently have attracted extoraordinary attention throughout the world. In commentaries -- the information media, politicians and governments have taken stands on them.

The fraternal socialist countries assess the developments in Poland as a supremely internal affair of that country, they support the endeavors of the Military Council of National Salvation aimed at consolidating the situation, averting civil war and defending socialism. As it was stressed, for example, during the meeting between Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Andras Gyenes, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, the two parties welcome the concrete steps taken by the PZPR and the government, and are in full solidarity with all forces fighting in Poland for the defense of socialism and against counterrevolutionary forces. Our working people, who have followed with growing uneasiness the social and economic disruption in our neighboring, befriended and allied country, support this position.

A similar position has also been taken by the majority of the communist and workers parties in the world, even though some of them -- as for example the Italian or Spanish Communist Parties -- assess the events in the Polish People's Republic from a nonclass viewpoint, regardless of the fact that People's Poland is threatened by counterrevolutionary forces.

The counterrevolutionary forces in Poland have been getting full support from anticommunist forces headed by American imperialism. As soon as the resolute struggle for the defense of socialism in the Polish People's Republic started, the United States immediately halted the promised food aid to Poland and unleashed an incendiary campaign against People's Poland and its Government.

The spokesman of the American President, Speakes, revealed what this is all about when he said that from the American viewpoint the situation in Poland should be settled through compromise between the government and "the other side," in other words, the counterrevolutionary forces. "We would like the situation in Poland to develop in that direction," Speakes added churlishly.

A similar view was also voiced by NATO General Secretary Luns, who wishes that "Solidarity" would preserve its former "political influence." While -- in one breath -- these circles warn the Soviet Union against "interfering in Polish affairs," they are unleashing the grossest pressure and blackmail actions toward the Polish Government agencies and over incendiary radios they are calling on the Poles to sabotage the government's efforts aimed at consolidation in the country and they are openly interfering in Poland's internal affairs.

This is so much at variance with the recognized norms of international life that even some Atlantic allies are dissociating themselves from it. For example, representatives of the FRG, Canada, Austria, Great Britain and other countries have demanded noninterference in Polish affairs.

The French Government has taken an ambiguous position. Its minister of foreign affairs at first depicted events in Poland as an "internal Affair" of the Polish People's Republic, but later the president of the Republic issued to the government the instruction that it "must let its displeasure be known." This was done along the lines of Washington's wishes -- to give events in Poland a "broader dimension," to bring about a situation suitable for escalating interference in the affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

What does the encouragement of Polish counterrevolution serve, what is the fanning of the resistance against the stabilization measures of the Polish Government agencies good for? It certainly will not help the Polish people. In the course of the past year they experienced to their own detriment the losses and the threat which the disruption provoked by "Solidarity's" antisocialist forces constitutes. The evidence coming to light now, after the occupation of "Solidarity" buildings, shows that the leaders of this allegedly trade union organization wanted to attempt to overthrow -- even at the cost of civil war -- the Government of People's Poland, break the obligations of the alliance of the Polish People's Republic and revise the results of World War II.

These plans were doomed to fail right from the start, but at what price? We fully agree with ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI when it writes: "It would not only be political blindness and cowardice, but also a crime against the nation and the state, should the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic not fulfill the duty dictated to them by the state of highest emergency [stav nejvyssi nutosti], in which the Polish nation has found itself."

The real friends of Poland support the endeavor of the Polish party, government and military bodies to consolidate economic and social life, and to give the Polish people calm for work and conditions for life in peace. Those who interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic and support subversive, counterrevolutionary and antisocialist elements, are driving Polish society into an adventure which can only end in catastrophe. They are putting on the face of "friends" of the Polish people, but in reality they are their worst enemies.

Austrian Reaction Scored

AU191129 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Dec 81 p 7

[Commentary by Bedrich Zagar in the column "Foreign-Political note": "Wondrous Approaches"]

[Text] The Polish Government's measures for halting the further intensification of the crisis have been mostly received by the world with gratification and understanding. Even the first reactions in the West were, on the whole, realistic. In fact, at last something had happened in Poland that the West has been stressing so frequently: Poland is resolving its problems on its own. However, gradually voices are being heard which express reservations to the latest developments. As long as the strike mania, anarchy and chaos reigned in the country, the West was of two minds, because, on the one hand, the political disintegration suited it, while on the other it could not conceal its concern for the repayment of its loans. Now, after the Polish Government has decided in favor of more energetic measures for averting "Solidarity's" counterrevolutionary influence and operations and for restoring order, the bourgeois press in the West is beginning to lament that "freedom is being restricted" in Poland.

Deplorably, it is not only the bourgeois press that is acting thus, but even certain governments. The Reagan administration has decided to stop food deliveries and is offering political asylum to those who disagree with the new developments in Poland. Even the Government of neutral Austria hastened to declare that it will respect principles in granting political asylum; as it in fact has done up to now. All "who will be politically persecuted at home," will get a visa. In the Austrian interpretation, even all members of "Solidarity" and of other "persecuted organizations" are considered politically persecuted.

This sounds very much like a recruitment of "political refugees." Only a few days ago the members of the Austrian Government complained about the economic intolerability of the burden of the Polish citizens' stay in Austria and offered this burden to other countries. The Austrian public is dissatisfied with the policy of false "humanism," because in Poland, apart from a few frank counterrevolutionaries from the "Solidarity's" leadership, nobody is persecuted politically. Why then should one make it obvious to the world that Austria will now again willingly receive Polish citizens who apply for political asylum? This is not only a provocative offer, it is also hypocrisy and meddling in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH POLAND DISCUSSED

LD222102 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN) -- Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today received the vice chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Stanyslaw Dlugosz, for a friendly conversation. They discussed important questions of economic cooperation between the two countries on the basis of agreements between the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, and the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and premier of Poland, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Stanyslaw Dlugosz expressed great appreciation for the GDR's active support for his country and expressed thanks for the effective action by the people of the GDR under the SED leadership, particularly the initiative launched by GDR children to help the children of People's Poland.

Gerhard Schuerer expressed the firm solidarity of the people of the GDR with the fraternal Polish people, with all upright communists and true patriots in Poland.

Warsaw Report

LD230256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Gerhard Schuerer, GDR deputy premier and chairman of the Planning Commission, has met with Stanislaw Dlugosz, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, at the Council of Ministers. They assessed economic cooperation this year and concluded that it has been satisfactory. It was stressed that some slowdowns have occurred on both sides which will be made up in the early months of next year.

An initial exchange of views was made concerning further mutual cooperation in 1982, and stress was laid on the fact that the main problem will be to find ways to maintain dynamic trade turnover favorable for both partners. The structure of our exports to the GDR was examined. Particular emphasis was placed on delivereies of machinery and installations, building services and employment of Polish workers. Some questions concerning the increased import of consumer goods were also discussed.

Our delegatin, which also included Wladyslaw Gwiazda, minister of foreign trade, thanked the GDR for the considerable aid it has given to Poland in recent days, such as foodstuffs [word indistinct] and childrens wear.

SHIPMENTS OF EMERGENCY AID FOR POLAND CONTINUE

Convoy for Lodz

LD191225 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2339 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt, 18 Dec (ADN) -- A convoy of 15 trucks with solidarity goods for the Peoples Republic of Poland left Karl-Marx-Stadt in the early hours of Saturday morning heading for Lodz, the twin area of the Saxony Bezirk. Another will leave Sunday night.

Aid From All Areas

LD211324 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN) -- More goods for the People's Republic of Poland were today loaded onto trucks and rail cars in all parts of the GDR and taken to the neighboring country. Thus, foodstuffs, textiles and other goods were sent from Gera [Bezirk to Skierniewice. Other convoys are being prepared, among others in the Rostock, Cottbus Frankfurt Oder, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Dresden Bezirke.

The second truck convoy from Schwerin Bezirk left for Pila this morning. In areas near the frontier milk and dairy produce are being sent to children in Poland. Thus, every day, a tanker carrying 9,000 liters of milk drives from Pasewalk (Neubrandenburg Bezirk) to Szczecin.

On Monday morning, a freight train left Arnstadt station (Erfurt Bezirk) for the Frankfurt Oder frontier station. The 43 cars are carrying gifts and other solidarity goods from the citizens of the Thuringia Bezirke, Erfurt, Suhl and Gera.

Workers of the Erfurt "Paul Schaefer" shoe factory have donated goods and money worth over M18,000 for Poland. At a meeting at the enterprise, Margarete Banas, a Pole currently living in the GDR, thanked her colleagues for preparing parcels for a partner enterprise in Zielona Gora. She said that she would continue to do a good job in her Erfurt team.

Also on Monday, GDR citizens paid money into the special account for Poland. Members of the pioneer and youth organization of Erfurt Bezirk have so far donated M100,000. Children, youngsters and teachers in Karl-Marx-Stadt have donated over M350,000. In Wolgast (Rostock Bezirk) vehicles were loaded with nearly 7,000 parcels for children in Swinoujscie. Twenty rail cars with gifts for the children of the Polish capital left the Leipzig container railroad station. A deputation from Pirna Kreis (Dresden Bezirk) is presenting 1,000 parcels for children at an orphanage in Boleslawiec, a town in western Poland.

Another solidarity aircraft carrying goods, including medicines, took off today from Berlin-Schoenefeld for Warsaw.

Three truck convoys from the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk crossed the frontier on the freeway today carrying aid for the neighboring Gorzow Voivodship. Trucks carrying food for the inhabitants of Slubice have crossed the town's bridge of friendship in the past few days.

Cottbus truck drivers started out today on their second trip to the partner voivodship of Zielona Gora.

A new solidarity convoy from Dresden Bezirk set off from Goerlitz this afternoon with goods for Warsaw and Wroclaw.

A truck convoy from the Rostock "Ostseetrans" transport combine is enroute to the Polish People's Republic. Trucks with solidarity goods are being prepared for departure this evening and tonight in other bezirke.

Citizens Praised

LD211910 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] At a workers' meeting in the Berlin autotrans combine today, Konrad Naumann conveyed to all Berlin working people the thanks of the SED Central Committee and General Secretary Erich Honecker for their internationalist attitude toward the Polish People's Republic. The Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED Executive praised the high devotion which had facilitated the rapid dispatch to Warsaw of the solidarity goods provided by the citizens of the capital.

Drivers who had taken a convoy over the weekend to the socialist sister city said that the GDR's aid was not only urgently needed but also fortified the Polish party in its struggle against counterrevolution and for normalization.

Appeal for Help

DW211350 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Karl-Heinz Gerstner's weekly economic review]

[Excerpts] On Thursday the People's Solidarity Organization participated in a new, highly important initiative.

Jointly with the German Red Cross, the Young Pioneers and the FDJ, it appealed to GDR citizens to help the children of People's Poland in the currently difficult situation. Such an aid is expression of what we feel in our hearts, and the extent to which that holds true is illustrated by the great movement which started immediately on Friday and Saturday; a wave of solidarity and readiness to help is sweeping our country.

In GDR schools the past 2 days were wholly marked by activities aimed at providing a good Christmas for the children in Poland. As of last night Young Pioneers and FDJ members had packed more than 1 million parcels which have meanwhile arrived in Polish towns.

Yesterday truck convoys streching several kilometers moved over our highways to Poland carrying foodstuffs, pharmaceuticals and children's clothing. A special container train left Berlin for Warsaw. When the first big transports arrived there, touching scenes took place. Trains with more donations are en route to the border stations from all parts of the GDR. Each of these bits of news imbues us with joy. All people of good will desire victory over counterrevolution and gladly use the opportunity to make a small personal contribution in this controversy through this aid.

FDGB To Provide M10 Million

LD211402 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN) -- The Secretariat of the FDGB National Executive has decided to provide immediate help of M10 million from the FDGB's central solidarity fund for the People's Republic of Poland.

Goods Worth M200 Million

LD221430 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpt] The SED Central Committee and GDR Government today announced that in the past few days goods had been provided for the People's Republic of Poland through the initiative of GDR citizens in the amount of M200 million. The goods comprise a variety of foodstuffs, medicines and articles to cover everyday needs which are currently needed in People's Poland particularly urgently.

The FDJ and Pioneer organization's solidarity action, which has since been concluded, called "aid for the children of People's Poland", enabled more than 2.5 million packages to be sent within the space of a few days to Polish children. In all GDR schools, children and young people as well as teachers and parents took part in this action with great readiness. The FDJ Central Council transferred as immediate aid for Poland M1 million to special account No 555 at the Berlin giro center.

Further truck convoys carrying aid goods from Gera and Neusrandenburg Bezirke set off for Poland today. A freight train with donations from Frankfurt/Oder and Rostock Bezirke is on its way to Warsaw. In addition to the daily milk transporters from Pasewalk, a tanker carrying fresh milk also set off for the first time from Cottbus for the Polish border town of Gubin.

Food, Milk, Textiles

LD222138 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 22 Dec ADN) -- More truck convoys and railroad cars carrying relief consignments for the Polish People's Republic set out today. From Karl-Marx-Stadt 17 truck trailers left with urgently needed goods for the Polish people in the partner area of Lodz. Convoys carrying foodstuffs, textiles and other everyday goods also left for Halle, Gera, Neubrandenburg and Rostock Bezirks. Two refrigerated trains left Neubrandenburg for Poland. The daily milk transport left Pasewalk for Szczecin and a tanker carrying fresh milk left Cottbus for Gublin, a 50 km journey. The milk is destined for hospitals, old peoples homes and institutions looking after children.

A solidarity train carrying parcels and other relief goods from Frankfurt/Oder and Rostock areas left for Warsaw on Tuesday. The consignment was put together at the Frankfurt border railroad station on Monday. Since the start of the aid scheme, nine solidarity trains have been cleared at the Frankfurt/Oder border station.

More Convoys Leave

LD221052 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpt] More truck convoys and railroad cars loaded with goods for the People's Republic of Poland set out during the night and early this morning for the neighboring country. A third truck convoy set off from Karl-Marx-Stadt for the sister region of Lodz. A few hours earlier, the ninth convoy set out from Erfurt for Kalisz. Returning truck drivers repeatedly tell of the great joy with which consignments from the GDR are welcomed.

Meanwhile donations to help the children of People's Poland continue to be paid into the special account No 555 at the Berlin giro office.

Polish Naval Ships Arrive

LD221820 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Rostock, 22 Dec (ADN) -- Solidarity shipments from the GDR to People's Poland are reaching the neighboring socialist country by sea. Two transport ships of the friendly Polish Navy put into Stralsund harbor today. Immediately after berthing -- a maneuver complicated by frost and ice -- the crews began loading. Together with sailors of the GDR People's Navy and Stralsund dock workers they ensured the swift loading of foodstuffs from agricultural producer cooperatives of the GDR's coastal area. Christmas gifts for Polish children were also taken on board.

Earlier, the mayor of Stralsund, Horst Lehmann, warmly welcomed the Polish crews. He expressed the pleasure of the town's working people that the patriots in People's Poland are now confronting the counterrevolution in their country and thus creating conditions for normalization.

"At this difficult time, our Polish class brethren can always count on our active solidarity, on the internationalist attitude of GDR citizens" he told them.

The commander of the Polish fleet, Lieutenant-Commander Mieczyslaw Poniewski expressed his thanks for the selfless tokens of fraternal solidarity. He said: "In this difficult situation our feeling for any aid is twice as strong and we feel that we have good friends. We shall defend this friendship between our peoples, as well as socialism in Poland, without retreating one step".

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTS ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU222045 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 16 December 81, page 3, carries a 330-word report summarizing the events in Poland by referring in brief to a PAP appeal to follow the orders of the state of emergency, mentioning the meeting of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers and a television announcement on the strike in Huta Katowice; and dealing in brief with the statements of various communist parties.

The same paper on page 5 carries various ADN reports on the situation in Poland, including a 160-word report on a PAP commentary stressing that "public life and the behavior of our country's citizens are now determined by very strict and -- one has to stress -- clear stipulations."

The section includes a 50-word PAP report stating that the Economic Committee of the Polish Council of Ministers met on Monday; a 70-word report on a Polish radio announcement that the Democratic Party of Poland and the Peasants Party have appealed to their members to "strictly keep" to the emergency measures; a 40-word PAP report stating that on Tuesday morning all big Warsaw enterprises started work normally; a 40-word Polish television report stating that on Monday an occupation strike was prevented by the "security forces" in Huta Katowice.

The same page the paper also carries a 280-word ADN dispatch on an article published in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on 15 December headlined "ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI': State of Emergency Serves To Secure Legal Power." According to the ADN dispatch, the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI article refers to the "still existing remnants of armed gangs from the first postwar years" and "their successors in the organizations hostile to socialism," and recalls that the internal counterrevolution was supported by "Western centers hostile to Poland."

The preceding article is followed by a 260-word ADN report on the statement by Hungary's MTI expressing the understanding of the Hungarian leadership for the decision of the Polish State Council and the confidence that the "true Polish patriots" will succeed in "securing a socialist solution of the Polish social problems."

The same paper on page 6 carries the following ADN reports under the headline "On the Events in Poland"; a 100-word report on the declaration of the Austrian Communist Party; a 60-word report on the reaction of the Portuguese Communist Party chairman; a 100-word report on an article in SCINTEIA expressing the confidence that "the serious difficulties can be overcome"; and a 180-word report on the central organ of the Vietnam Communist Party, NHAN DAN, "fully supporting the urgent measures of the Polish State Council."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 17 December, page 1, carries a 160-word report on the situation in Poland headlined "On the Situation of Poland: Ringleaders of Counterrevolution Detained." The report refers to documents revealing the plans of the counterrevolution and states that Moczulski, head of the so-called "Confederation for an Independent Poland," and several Solidarity leaders have been detained.

The same paper on page 5 carries various ADN reports on developments in Poland: an 80-word Polish television report of Wednesday evening stating that workers patrols have appeared on Warsaw's streets; a 150-word PAP report on a declaration of the Military Council for the Salvation of Poland which stresses that the Military Council and the measures of the state of emergency were necessary "to put an end to the machinations of hostile forces"; a 60-word report stating that the Presidium of the Union of the Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) supports the measures of the Military Council; a 70-word Polish radio announcement on Wednesday morning stating that the work of the Pax and other Catholic associations had been stopped on the orders of the mayor of Warsaw.

Also on the same page the paper carries a 160-word report stating that TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI of 16 December published documents revealing the "counterrevolutionary plans of Solidarity."

The same paper on the same page carries a 320-word ADN dispatch headlined "Counterrevolutionaries Detained." The report refers to the detainment of various counterrevolutionaries naming Moczulski, head of the "Confederation for an Independent Poland," Andrzej Gwiazda, Marian Jurczik, Jan Rulewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Jacek Kuron, as well as others. The report also refers to a Polish radio announcement that various Solidarity functionaries had been detained and an announcement of the press spokesman of the Interior Ministry that there were "no incidents" in moving against the elements that are "trying to disturb the public order."

On the same page there is a 240-word ADN dispatch on a survey of the Polish radio on the situation in Poland on the "second working day after the proclamation of the state of emergency" stating that in all fields enterprises were "working nearly normally."

This report is followed by various ADN reports arranged under the heading "International Agreement With the Measures in the Polish People's Republic": a 120-word report on the declaration of the DKP Presidium; a 280-word report on a BTA declaration expressing Bulgaria's understanding for the measures in Poland and stating confidence that the Polish people will overcome their difficulties; an 80-word report on the Communist Party of Luxemburg supporting the "recent measures in the Polish People's Republic"; a 60-word report on the reaction in the Syrian paper AL-BA'TH; a 100-word report on the reaction of NORRSKENSFLAMMAN, central organ of the Workers Communist Party of Sweden; a 50-word report on reaction of the Mongolian paper UNEN on Wednesday; and a 40-word report on the declaration of the Central Committee Presidium of the Fatherland Front of Vietnam.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 21 December 5 page 1 carries a 150-word ADN dispatch on Polish radio and television reports stating that a week after the proclamation of the state of emergency "a general stabilization of the economic and public life becomes visible. The dispatch also refers to an "appalling provocation" by Solidarity in Katowice where counterrevolutionaries "blocked an exit in the Zemowit coal mine to keep 1,300 miners locked in the mine."

The same paper on page 5 also carries various reports on the "situation in our neighbor country"; a 120-word ADN report on radio Warsaw praising the solidarity aid of the GDR; a 100-word ADN report on the Polish Military Council appealing to the peasants "to deliver the produced foodstuffs"; an 80-word ADN report on the Polish Government Presidium determing guidelines for the management of the economy under the conditions of the state of emergency; an 80-word ADN report on a PAP report stating that Solidarity counterrevolutionaries blocked "one of the two exists" of the Zemowit coal mine in Katowice Voivodship; a 40-word ADN report on a PAP report on the discovery of a weapons depot of Solidarity in the Szczecin "Parnica" repair shipyard; a 60-word ADN report on four young people being detained in Warsaw for the possession arms; a 50-word ADN report on a PAP report stating that all holiday trips have been temporarily stopped in Poland.

The paper on the same page also carries a 320-word ADN dispatch on Polish radio and television reports stating that in Slask and Gdansk "life is quiet again and that military and militia patrols are maintaining public order in Warsaw."

On the same page there are also three ADN reports of 150 words on a Polish television announcement that the nightly curfew was reduced by 2 hours, on a public statement of the Military Council that since the introduction of the state of emergency in "increase in labor productivity and better utilization of available potential has been achieved," and on the Union of Rural Youth (ZMW) and former concentration camp prisoners appealing for support for the Military Council.

Also on page 5 there is an 80-word ADN report on the statement of the Communist Party of Greece on the proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland.

On the same page there is also a 120-word ADN report on an article in Moscow PRAVDA of 20 December stating that the measures of the state of emergency "aim at protecting the constitutional order and restoring public tranquillity." The PRAVDA article then refers to Polish press reports on the aims of the counterrevolution and stresses that "life is gradually returning to normal in Poland."

Polish Press Cited

LD182354 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 18 Dec 81

[By Warsaw correspondent Klaus Franke]

[Text] In the People's Republic of Poland the decisive efforts of the Military Council of National Salvation, of the agencies and forces of order subordinate to it, and of an increasing number of patriotic-minded citizens are continuing under the conditions of the state of emergency to finally thwart the aims of the counterrevolutionary forces and gradually stabilize economic life.

On the sixth day of the state of emergency both newspapers published in the capital, TRYBUNA LUDU and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, report on numerous examples of responsible behavior in various spheres and on the fulfillment of economic tasks irrespective of the complicated situation in raw-material supplies and communications. Thus, in the Lenin steel works of Nowa Huta, the relevant ministry says the daily targets are being met. In the factories under the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry work is continuing normally in almost all voivodships.

In the mining sector, the lignite open-cast miners are working without disruption, as are a clear majority of miners in the hard coal mines, ignoring the provocations whipped up by the leaders of Solidarity.

Also in today's newspapers there are reports on the tragic consequences of infringements of the regulations of the state of emergency by provocative elements in the Wujek region where the forces of order, who were brutally attacked and some of whom were seriously injured, were forced to use their weapons. There were also disturbances of public order on the streets of Gdansk. Attempts to organize a gathering hostile to the state in Warsaw yesterday failed because of the resolute actions of the forces of order.

In this connection ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI observes in a commentary today: The hopes of the forces of the counterrevolution to provoke a civil war have come to nothing. The history of Poland, especially its most recent history, command us to remember that the forces of reaction have never taken possible consequences into consideration when it was a matter of the struggle for power. The costs have always been borne by the people. The sophisticated political gamblers make use in this of the lack of experience, of the young generation in order to play on their feelings. We are thus dealing with actions, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI continues, which are aimed at worsening the present explosive situation. Does one have to underline the fact that the organizers of such actions also bear responsibility for all that results from them? One must also underline as strongly as one can that actions such as these must be prosecuted with all the severity of martial law.

As TRYBUNA LUDU reports from Krakow, gradually over the last 2 days order has been restored in those factories where attempts were made to call workers out on strike. In most of the factories attendance and output were good. The town is being cleansed of antisocialist slogans, a campaign in which many young party activists took part.

The staff for information and propaganda at the PZPR voivodship committee prepares daily information services and materials for the factories' radio services.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, ANALYZED

PPR Deputy Premier Interviewed

LD230022 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] A great deal is being said about Poland these days in the world press and in the news bulletins of various radio and TV stations. What is said there or what may be read in the columns of the papers does not always correspond to the truth. Some conclusions from a leading article in SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG may be found appropriate here. "The time of the charlatans and the fabricators of false news has now come. What, no news from Poland? We cannot have this, the gutter press decides. Warsaw has been surrounded by armored troops; there is shooting in front of the tractor factory; strikers are awaiting an attack. So say the headlines. In the small print, then, the conditional phrase appears: Warsaw 'reportedly' has been surrounded. There 'may' have been shooting."

The method of using a chain of references has become particularly favored in the past few days. "Austrian TV reports that the BBC earlier reported on a Swedish report to the effect...and so on." In fact, there is no one behind all these reports. On the other hand, our colleague Sandor Regos has just returned from Warsaw. He can give us a trustworthy account of his experiences.

[Begin recording] [Regos] I arrived home from Poland on Sunday evening, having spent 2 weeks there. I could witness the complete economic and political chaos that prevailed during the week preceding the imposition of a state of emergency. I visited places where farm produce should have been collected but the stores were empty because the peasants, not being able to buy anything in exchange for their produce, held back their products. I talked to workers who, while complaining about the food supply situation, were still duped by the false propaganda of the Solidarity leaders and would have been prepared to go on strike at any time. Poland was threatened by complete anarchy.

In this situation, the Polish leadership had to reach a decision that was not easy but it was the only one that was effective, namely the introduction of a state of emergency. On the morning of 13 December, following the radio address given by Army General Jaruzelski, I went to the lobby of my hotal where many guests had already gathered together. People's faces expressed tense expectation. They were looking at each other in silence. All of them could sense that from then on the law of order would be the supreme law. I am not saying that everyone know straight away that this order would serve the interests of the people. At the beginning of last week, passions still rose high in many places; chaos, whether it be in production or in the mind, cannot be eliminated from one day to the next. Time was needed for people to get used to the idea that only those attempting to disrupt order that was required would find themselves in trouble with the soldiers who were present everywhere.

However, it is precisely this consistent order that makes it possible to ensure that, in spite of the cold, no one will feel the cold in their homes, that the electricity supplies will be in operation and that food supplies, so often disrupted in the past, will be smooth. It is not easy to do one's shopping in Warsaw even these days. However, everyone can obtain the basic foodstuffs available on ration cards, even if it is at the expense of standing in line.

Not everyone has been able to understand that only work can lead the country out of its difficulties. The government spokesman has spoken about the strikes under way in two mines. However, this fact is only to be understood in its full context if I speak about another fact, too; something that I heard on Polish Radio this morning. According to this, Polish mines sent 550,000 tons of coal to the surface yesterday. I would add that daily output in normal times is in the region of 600,000 tons.

Naturally, the road leading to a calm period is still a long one, indeed. The government is working on the establishment of economic order even in the conditions of a state of emergency. In Budapest, I asked Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, who, as reported in the headlines of this newsreel, had held talks in Hungary, about the decisions reached by the government at the end of last week.

[Madej in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation] First of all, we accepted the basic principle that we should continue the policy of renewal and democratization, which was outlined in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Reviewing the economic tasks, we decided to introduce the basic aspects of the economic reform.

Thus, for instance, we are carrying out a price reform in retail trade. We are setting new prices for consumer goods and we are altering the wage system which we will link more closely to the economic results of individual enterprises in the future. We are gradually putting into practice these concepts. We will probably have to reduce the period for which we can plan ahead. In accordance with the state of emergency in Poland, we must now work on the basis of shorter-term plans such as, for instance, quarterly plans. These are the ones we are going to use.

Regarding the subject of realistic, tangible plans, the most important thing for us during the winter period is the provision of food for the population, the securing of adequate reserves of fuel and the organization of transportation. We have imported some 6-6.5 million tons of grain and fodder every year. We have fairly big problems with these imports because we have obtained these goods mainly from the West, and primarily from the United States. Now, the provision of credit has been suspended on President Reagan's instruction. We would very much like to see a change in this situation. It is difficult to outline today what is required for this, however. In the current situation both credits and the delivery of goods -- with the exception of humanitarian supplies -- are being withheld.

There are now differences between our relations with individual West European countries. The governments and the banks are now weighing up the situation and it would be difficult to say at this moment at what kind of conclusion they will arrive. We wish to remain an open country and desire to carry on our existing financial and trade relations with all countries. This is to remain the main goal of our policy.

Everyone must understand that the most recent measures taken in connection with the state of emergency were guided by the desire to halt the chaos and disorder in the country which posed an obstacle to all democratic policies and which hindered the normal functioning of economic life. At present not everyone understands this: Many people believe that a military authority is opposed to democracy. This is not the case; it merely serves the restoration of order.

The stand taken by the Hungarian party and Government on the most recent developments in Poland is unequivocal. They understand our main political objectives. I can assure everyone that we will consistently continue this policy. [end recording]

Conditions Summed Up

LD211654 Budapest MTI in English 1046 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Dec (MTI) -- The correspondents of MTI report:

Normalization of production and life continued Saturday and Sunday in Poland, reports coming in from various parts of the country said. Miners worked a full working day Saturday and extracted 557,000 tonnes of coal. All the power plants worked smoothly at the week-end.

Friday's and Saturday's snowfalls caused some dislocation of road and rail traffic countrywide, yet city buses and trams operated normally. The key city roads have been cleared. Transport workers were actively assisted by soldiers in the cleaning. Water supply and district heating are normal.

Police acted against speculators on over 400 occasions countrywide and impounded goods worth 11 million zlotys. Speculators who attempted to capitalize on the acute supplies situation will be tried in summary proceedings.

Yesterday LOT Airways called on its employees to report to work.

From every district of Poland the growing activity of primary party organizations and party members is reported. The activity of the factory party organizations has also increased perceptibly during the recent days. The party members contributed to normalization chiefly with exemplary, disciplined work. The PUWP members in many factories assume duty around the clock. Also everywhere in the country a growing number of party members take part in combatting speculation, join the workers' militia helping the work of the order-keeping patrols of policemen and military.

Along with the internal consolidation of the PUWP and increasing activity of the party members, the several months' process of the party's getting rid gradually of those members who find the ideals of the PUWP alien, got into the ranks of the party almost by accident and failed it in the hours which demanded action, continues. The meetings of primary party organizations held these days have revealed that the members of the PUWP stand by consistent unfailing implementation of the rulings of the Military Council of National Salvation. At several places the attention of the party members has been called to the fact that the introduction of the state of emergency does not mean in itself that the ideological enemy has abandoned its machinations.

The Military Council of National Salvation Sunday issued an appeal to the Polish peasants. The appeal confirms the continuation and further improvement of the agricultural policy pursued so far in the Polish People's Republic. Accordingly, all the sectors of the Polish agriculture form one entity. The only differences may exist in that some units work well and others poorly. There is, however, difference between those who sell their products to the state and those who withhold them with speculative purpose. The appeal points out: In spite of the state of emergency, the authorities do not intend to make delivery to the state compulsory; instead they call on the agricultural workers of the country to understand the duties emerging from the extraordinary situation and do their (?bit) in order that more food reach the markets.

Poland's Primate Josef Glemp issued a pastoral letter to the country's believer citizens, calling for calm from everyone.

Spokesman Cited on Walesa

LD212348 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Summary] The Polish Government press spokesman gave a press conference in Warsaw today. He pointed out that restrictions would be reduced as calm returned to the country. "The Polish Government spokesman, in reply to questions, said that the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa is in Warsaw and has negotiated on a number of occasions with members of the government. He was also visited by his family and a representative of the church."

NEPSZAVA: Western 'Propaganda'

LD201426 Budapest MTI in English 0610 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Dec (MTI) -- Sunday's NEPSZAVA, the central organ of Hungarian trade unions, covers a commentary on the Western propaganda campaign on the events in Poland.

The Budapest daily points out that Western press reports and statements of leading politicians on the events in Poland -- save a few exceptions -- indicate a special confusion of ideas. "They manipulate mainly with two notions: human rights and interference or non-interference.

"As for human rights, they blame the Polish leadership with introducing the state of emergency and suspending trade union activities temporarily, especially arresting the extreme leaders of 'Solidarity'. They claim that all this is a violation of human rights, i.e. of trade union rights," reads the Budapest daily.

"What do facts indicate in practice? They show that 'Solidarity' leaders in flat opposition to the principles declared at its foundation, have not been dealing with issues of wages, social policy, labour safety or of other protection of interest, but with political undermining. They schemed terror actions, provocations and they have not spared efforts for subverting the people's power...The activity of 'Solidarity' can be summed up in one sentence as follows: to take over power by any means. What kind of trade union activity is this? Why do steps against this type of sabotage and terrorism violate human rights?

"President Reagan has recently expressed his 'concern' about the state of emergency and the future of Polish workers. But what will the President say if, for instance, the AFL-CIO would organize a [word indistinct] for assassinating the U.S. President, or announce a general strike for changing the existing social system and ousting the government," put the questions of NEPSZAVA.

Then the daily goes on saying: "...How strange it is that there is no concern in Washington about the fate of Salvadoran patriots. However, everybody knows that the oppressive clique in El Salvador, supported by U.S. money and economic aids, has killed more than 30,000 people in the past two years, several thousands are languishing in prisons under continuous torment and the firing squads' guns do not stop to fire...This is the situation with human rights."

As for interference or non-interference, it is well-known that the state of emergency was imposed by the Polish State Council, which is the supreme body of the legitimate power and exercised its constitutional rights. Sober Western politicians acknowledge that there was no other possibility..."

NEPSZAVA points out that Radio Free Europe, controlled by U.S. circles, is in the forefront of the process of incitements and misinformation in connection with the events in Poland.

"Its methods are similar to those it used at the time of the 1956 counter-revolution in Hungary. It broadcasts rumours, incites and on behalf of the anti-socialist Polish forces, it airs calls on organizing armed resistance without paying attention to bloodshed, moreover, plainly encouraging it.

"There is no surprise in it. Those circles, who control Free Europe and the similar institutions, would like to break out a confrontation at any cost, and it is only their irresponsibility which is greater than their disappointment to the failure of their desired hopes," stresses the Budapest daily.

In view of President Reagan's statement at a press-conference on Thursday, when he named the state of emergency in Poland as a 'brutal violation' of the Helsinki Final Act, NEPSZAVA points out:

"No article of the Helsinki document involves measures that forbid any government to make steps against seditious acts and arbitrary actions for ousting the government, especially in a case, as in Poland, when they threaten not only the country's legitimate system, but also the peace and security in Europe.

"As we have already mentioned Helsinki, it is worth noting that there is a measure that forbids the interference in other countries' internal affairs.

What else can be thought of the U.S. President's statement, in which he imposed conditions to the Polish Government, demanding to start negotiations with the counter-revolutionary forces and subjected the continuation of economic aids to these conditions. It is an interference in another country's and a legitimate government's internal affairs in practice.

"Those in the West, who are demanding an account of the Polish workers' right so enthusiastically, do not feel concern about the Polish people. They are interested in the developments of the political poker game, in which the fate of the Polish people is at stake, disregarding that by fanning passions to a heat and scheming incitements, they sacrifice human lives and endanger not only Poland's peace but also the whole continent's" stresses NEPSZAVA.

West Blamed for Bloodshed

AU221251 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 20 December on page 10 carries a 600-word Andras Kereszty article, "State of Emergency in Poland," on the situation and events in the country. It notes "several grave counterrevolutionary provocations," including the "organization of a strike by irresponsible elements" in the Wujek mine in Katowice: "The strikers attacked the police forces summoned to the mine area, and 41 policemen were injured, some of them seriously, in a clash. The attacked policemen used their weapons, 7 people lost their lives. A demonstration accompanied by street disturbances was organized in Gdansk Wednesday evening, in which 60 policemen and 164 civilians were injured."

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 20 December on page 2 carries a 1,400-word Pal Gedeon article, entitled "The Responsibility of the Instigators." It contradicts Western propaganda allegations to the effect that human rights are being violated in Poland, saying: "Those in the West who are so zealously demanding that the rights of the Polish working people be observed are not even remotely concerned about the Polish people. They are aroused by the outcome of the political poker game, in which precisely they themselves have staked the destiny of the Polish people, not caring that, by whipping up emotions and systematic instigation, they are sacrificing human lives and jeopardizing not only Poland's peace, but that of our continent as well.

"Those who, in the interests of their political objectives, with cold calculation, are deliberately stirring up passions and bringing them to boiling point, constantly raising the stake in their political gamble, have the blood that has been shed in Katowice and Gdansk on their conscience."

'168 Hours' Program Comments

LD191842 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Dec 81

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] A week ago, when "168 Hours" dealt with the session of the National Commission of Solidarity, not even our Polish experts could have guessed that the forces loyal to socialism were preparing to introduce a state of emergency in Poland. This determined action was forced, I could say provoked, by the opposition as the leadership of Solidarity had resolved itself to take over power. It set out to create a so-called provisional government and endeavored to gain new followers, using brutal psychological methods in order to overthrow the political system.

So, according to the signs, the counteraction of the legitimate government was unavoidable. It is not my intention now to summarize the events since the military intervention, the various opinions and standpoints. These are familiar to the listener and they have no doubt heard or read the speech in the National Assembly by the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, who described the introduction of the state of emergency as an internal Polish affair, and so assured the Polish patriots engaged in the defense of socialism and fighting against the counterrevolution of Hungary's Solidarity.

This is the most we can do, I think, looking back over just one week. The near future will decide the degree of success of the military action, whether the responsibility felt for the future will come out victorious in Poland, whether it will be possible to rally society around a common program. The most recent news, which is basically supplied by Warsaw Radio, [passage indistinct] pensioners and war veterans applied to fulfill their patriotic duty, to help in the maintenance of public order.

The fact that the decisive majority of Warsaw's industrial plants are in production, that the transportation enterprises are carrying out their tasks attests to many things. According to a report by Jozsef Meruk, the buses and streetcars are visibly keeping to their timetables, more so than a month ago. The bakeries are baking about twice as much and in the last few days milk deliveries have been uninterrupted. These matters, which seem small, are in all probability the practical manifestations of citizens' responsibility, the correspondent writes.

The year is coming to its end. The friends of socialist Poland, here in Hungary and elsewhere in the world, trust that a new period has begun in the course of events in Poland, and this course, that of coming out of the crisis, will mean the start of a more promising year than the present one.

MTI on Actions Taken

LD191848 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Dec (MTI) -- The introduction of those elements of the new economic management system which do not contradict the provisions of the state of emergency must be continued, stated the Presidium of the Polish Government and suggested the government to fix new producer's prices as soon as possible, and to elaborate a new taxing and financial system which allows the independent accounting of the enterprises and helps the managers to make correct decisions.

Government is appointing ministerial commissioners to the head of the individual industries. Furthermore, government has obliged the minister of labour to elaborate without delay a so-called system of compensation to countervail growing expenditures needed to the subsistence of the population. After the state of emergency has been lifted, the government will discuss this question with the trade unions too.

The Presidium of the Polish Government has called into being a Social-Political Committee operating by the Council of Ministers and appointed to its head Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The task of the committee is to promote and coordinate the cooperation of the state administration and party-power political organizations. The government commission in charge of trade union affairs has been wound up simultaneously.

The Presidium of the government has determined the tasks of the Economic Commission operating by the Council of Ministers. This commission has been put in charge of every operative work in the national economy. The chairman of the commission is Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski. The decisions of the commission are obligatory for the ministers and for every organ of nationwide authority.

Friday night the Warsaw Television broadcast reports about the public security situation in various parts of the country. These reports reveal that as a result of the concerted actions of the police, soldiers and voluntary public security men, the number of cases of violation of public order and security has dropped. In the recent days the prosecutions handled several accelerated punitive proceedings mostly against burglars, thiefs, rowdies. The authorities have reportedly ceased a considerable amount of weapon and ammunition.

According to reports of the dailies, in compliance with the provisions of the state of emergency, the burgomaster of Krakow has suspended the operation of the Krakow-seated Democratic Youth Union.

'Leading Soviet Analyst' Views

LD191600 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 2025 GMT 18 Dec 81

["Panorama" program with an unidentified Hungarian presenter, an unidentified Hungarian expert on foreign affairs, and including a recorded interview with an unidentified "leading Soviet analyst" conducted in Moscow on 17 December by Hungarian correspondent Peter Horvath -- live]

[Excerpt] [Presenter] Tension in Europe is not lessened in any way by the fact that there has been a state of emergency in a socialist country of some 35-36 million inhabitants, which lies in the center of the continent. How is all that viewed by a leading Soviet analyst who was interviewed by Peter Horvath in Moscow yesterday [17 December] afternoon?

[Begin recording] [Horvath] What is your view of the latest developments in Poland?

[Unidentified Soviet analyst in Russian, with superimposed Hungarian translation] I am afraid we have not got enough time to analyze this situation in detail. As for what is going on there, I can only say what I think about it. First, it seems to me that we must all take as our point of departure the fact that this is entirely an internal affair of the Polish people. Everyone must keep this in sight.

[Horvath] Everyone is pondering over the issue of whether the Poles are capable of solving the crisis themselves.

[Soviet analyst] Naturally. Naturally, [they are capable] if no one obstructs them in doing that and if there is no external pressure which has been experienced to date. After all, the leaders of Solidarity were striving for the overthrow of the socialist system. I will say a few more words about this later on. They received not merely straightforward support from certain Western countries but they were also given thoroughly well thought out and carefully planned practical help, namely printing presses and printing equipment, unlimited amounts of foreign currency, material support and so on.

Certain leaders, that is to say certain leaders of Solidarity, took a stand not only against the PZPR and they worked not only against the principles of socialism, scientific socialism and of Marxism-Leninism, they also took a stand in favor of the restoration of the bourgeois system in Poland. They even made preparations for this restoration. They also drew up a list of the members of a future government. This government would have included among its members two counts, one of them a general of the former Home Army.

Now that the Polish soldiers and the Polish Army have rushed to the aid of the people and that a state of emergency has been introduced in the country following a decree to that effect, this is the only obvious way for normalizing the situation and for saving Poland from a national catastrophe.

This is the only path that can lead Poland out of her current difficulties. We hope that Poland can overcome these difficulties and pass beyond them, and that it can make a start, with the friendly assistance of the other socialist countries, to make up for the incalculable losses that have been caused for Poland, the Polish people and the Polish economy by the enemies of socialism. [end recording]

[Unidentified Hungarian expert] The situation in Poland over the last 1 and 1/2 years, in particular, has greatly affected the development of political relations in Europe and, in a wider context, even the developments of the whole international situation.

I would like to emphasize that the measures taken 6 days ago were produced and made necessary by an emergency. These measures were not taken by the government by its own choice and it was not with pleasure that it had to take them.

What one was dealing with was the fact that, ever since the autumn congress of Solidarity, preparations -- and what is more armed preparations -- for a counterrevolution had got underway at all levels and in all spheres. The extremists within Solidarity openly called on the members of the organization to take part in this. And I believe that everyone can recognize that the party and the administration initiated a great many proposals and initiatives, and not only during the earlier period but also in the autumn of this year, to settle by compromises and through the path of negotiations all those issues that had become tense between the government authority and Solidarity. However, all their efforts in this direction met with a rejection.

It is obvious that no state can allow attacks to be launched against its order or the institutions of its order. These measures have been taken in the interests of securing the basic preconditions for the existence of the system.

[Presenter] In the final analysis, do these measures amount, perhaps for the first time, to a socialist military takeover?

[Unidentified Hungarian expert] No, this cannot be regarded in any way as a military takeover of power. After all, in its communiques and statements the Military Council unequivocally committed itself to declaring that, on the one hand, the introduction of a state of emergency is in full harmony with the stipulations of the Constitution. On the other hand, this is considered to be a temporary state of affairs after which it is intended to continue the process of renewal in Poland. It is intended to ensure order, calm and security -- in which conditions not only can the country be led out of the crisis but the further continuation of the reforms can be secured together with the assertion of all those factors without which the truly socialist renewal of Poland cannot be imagined.

[Presenter] Are the external conditions for all this available?

[Unidentified Hungarian expert] Changes in the external conditions are rather difficult to predict. In my view, it is essential that everyone in West Europe, and even beyond the confines of our continent, should understand that all that has happened in Poland is the internal affair of the people, the internal affair of the Poles. The Poles themselves must settle these problems and the anxieties involving Poland should not be further increased. After all, as has been said on innumerable occasions earlier, a military-political balance of forces in Europe is unimaginable without a socialist Poland. The countries of Europe are just as much interested in this as the countries that are beyond the confines of the continent.

[Presenter] The normalization of the situation in Poland and the fact that the Poles should be able to solve their own problems are in the fundamental interests of all those who are taking part in protest demonstrations all over West Europe, demanding a nuclear-free Europe.

Measures a 'Historic Step'

AU181311 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Dec 81 p 2

[Ferenc Varnai article: "The First Requirement"]

[Text] The Polish people's friends, including the Hungarian public, have received with complete understanding and sincere sympathy Gen of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski's Sunday morning speech announcing that, to avert the immediate danger threatening Poland's socialist achievements and restore order, a state of emergency has been decreed and a Military Council of National Salvation established.

They have felt that resolute action is suited to the purpose of guiding the Polish People's Republic onto a path of socialist development, which lies in the fundamental interests of the Polish working people, as well as the interests of all the peace-loving people of Europe and the world.

Irresponsibly jeopardizing peace in Poland, Europe and the world, counterrevolutionary forces, instigated through outside support and becoming increasingly brazen, have gone beyond all legitimate limits. Their premise was: The worse it is for the people, the better it is for the counterrevolution!

Terminating anarchy, restoring law and order and creating prerequisites for calm creative work have become the first requirement for correcting the mistakes made by the previous leadership and a socialist renewal. Therefore, the institution of the Military Council of National Salvation and its measures consistent with the spirit and letter of the Constitution are instrumental in guiding the country back to democracy and ensuring that the genuine interests of the Polish working people as a whole prevail.

Even those -- both in the country and outside — who cannot be called friends of socialism acknowlege the justified nature of the Polish revolutionary forces' historic step and the fact that it is a domestic affair of Poland. Their realism has made them comprehend! Also their peace could be endangered by the activity of the extremist forces in Poland.

The true Polish communists and patriots who have now taken the initiative and launched a struggle to restore social order and tranquility can safely rely on the support of all sober-minded forces and honest working people and the active solidarity of world progressive forces, including that of the Hungarian people. We hope that their resolute action will lead, as soon as possible, to a complete normalization of life, continuation of the work of socialist construction and Poland being able to fulfill its fitting role once more in the community of socialist peoples and the peace-loving world.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH POLAND HELD IN BUDAPEST

LD212224 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Hungarian-Polish economic talks have been held in Budapest. Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi, chairman of the National Planning Office, held talks with his colleague, Zbigniew Madej. The Polish politician was received by Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier and chairman of the cooperation committee.

KADAR RETURNS FROM BREZHNEV BIRTHDAY OBSERVANCE

LD220040 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Dec (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] returned to Budapest from the Soviet Union on Monday. Janos Kadar attended the ceremonies marking the 75th birthday of Leonid Brezhnev at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government.

Janos Kadar was welcomed at the eastern station by Pali Losonczi, MSZMP Politburo member and president of the Presidentail Council, Gyorgy Lazar, Politburo member and premier, and several members of the Politburo and government.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY -- Pal Lonsonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, have received Dr Ivan Foti, our country's ambassador accredited to the Republic of Turkey, who will proceed to his post in the near future. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Dec 81 p 8 AU]

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO MEETS 22 DEC

LD221910 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] A meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo took place today. The meeting dealt with the current sociopolitical situation as well as the tasks of the party in the conditions of martial law.

SEJM COMMISSIONS MEET ON ECONOMY 22 DEC

LD222006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Today a joint meeting was held of the Sejm Commissions for Legislative Work; Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and the Commission for Workers' Self-Management.

The deputies have acquainted themselves with eight draft bills indispensable for the introduction of the economic reform. These are government proposals on socioeconomic planning, on statistics, on permits for carrying out foreign trade, on financing industrial economy, on prices, and on prices in establishments of the socialized economy. The draft bank bill, too, was examined.

The government draft bills were presented by the government plenipotentiary for economic reform, Prof Wladyslaw Baka. The deputies spoke at length on the correct implementation of the economic reform, particularly under martial law conditions. The meeting of the commissions was also attended by heads of a number of ministries.

MORE ON GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' PRESS CONFERENCE

LD221200 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpts] The government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, and the premier's adviser, Capt Wieslaw Gornicki, held a press conference yesterday for foreign correspondents accredited to Poland.

Minister Urban said that the operations carried out by the troops and forces of order have been very efficient. There have been no cases of insurbordination in the armed services or in the forces under the control of Ministry of Internal Affairs.

On Monday, work was boycotted in two collieries -- Ziemowit and Piast. In each case about 1,000 miners stayed underground. Representatives of the military authorities, wives of miners and the clergy went down to see them and to explain to them the senselessness of continuing their action. Some of the miners stopped their protest. Apart from these examples, production in the mining industry is proceeding normally.

The spokesman discussed the tragedy at the Wujek colliery. Seven miners lost their lives. These are the sole fatalities of the events connected with the state of martial law in Poland. In connection with this tragedy -- which was a great shock to the government and the public -- the spokesman stated that no order to shoot was given. The shots were fired in accordance with the law, in accordance with the regulations governing the use of firearms, the same regulations which are in force in Poland not just during the state of martial law, but all the time. Similar regulations are, in principle, in force throughout the world. These regulations state that an armed person in the service of the state has the right to fire shots to defend his life. The forces which entered the colliery were attacked by people wielding lethal implements.

Further on in his statement, Jerzy Urban stated that in connection with the normalization of the situation in the country, further liberalization of the martial law regulations is being introduced.

Mentioning the decisions which have already been taken in this field, the spokesman announced the introduction of freedom of movement for inhabitants within voivodships during the Christmas period. Some of the 5,000 internees are being released. This process is continuing and, in all probability, will gather momentum.

The premier's adviser, Capt Wieslaw Gornicki, expressed his disapproval of information disseminated by certain Western agencies and television broadcasting stations concerning the events in Poland. Among other things, he denied reports broadcast by the BBC, alleging mass rebellions of troops in Poland's southern regions.

On behalf of Poland's military authorities, he expressed very sharp disapproval of the statement by an official spokesman of the U.S. State Department alleging that 54 persons had been killed in Poland. This is not true. Repeating rumors is no task of diplomacy.

He appealed to foreign journalists to report news honestly and in concrete form and to understand the complete political dimension of what is happening in Poland.

Jerzy Urban and Capt Wieslaw Gornicki then replied to numerous questions from journalists.

Interned persons are not subject to the same strict conditions applied to prisoners and arrested persons. They have the right to correspond, to see their families, to practice religion and to indulge in cultural activities. They have the right to food parcels, and medical and hygenic conditions have been ensured. Certain groups of interned persons are housed in rest houses where there is freedom to move and engage in mutual contacts. Interned persons will be successively released, according to how the situation in the country stabilizes. Each case will be examined individually.

Released so far are: man of letters (Jacek Bochenski); Dr (Ryszard Hertynski) of the Polish Academy of Sciences; film director (Jerzy Markuszewski); literary critic (Micha Komar); Prof (Wladyslaw Kunicki-Goldfinfer); Mrs Dunin-Kowalska; editor (Iwona Tarasinska-Sliwinska); Dr (Marek Edelman); and editor (Krzysztof Klinger), secretary of the Association of Polish Journalists. These names are mentioned merely by way of example. The release process affects a significantly greater number of people.

There is a difference between internment and arrest. The latter refers to persons who violated the regulations of the law after 13 December of this year. Jan Slowik serves as an example here. He had been interned and, following his release, embarked on activities incompatible with the martial law regulations. To date, several dozen people have been arrested.

The development of events in Poland could have led to bloodshed, and this no doubt would have entailed far-reaching international implications in European politics as well as in East-West relations. The government highly values all church statements which promote the establishment in Poland of calm and of respect by citizens for the law and for the requirements of martial law. It is the government's view that this kind of attitude by the church constitutes substantial help to the public.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON RESPECTING MARTIAL LAW

LD222052 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Report on communique from Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman]

[Text] The decree of martial law has been in force since 13 December. Each passing day furnishes examples of certain persons not respecting the martial law regulations. This cannot be tolerated in the interests of social calm and of the security of citizens. Also violating the law in force are persons who were deprived of freedom for a short time and who subsequently, after pledging to observe legal order, were released.

Thus, for instance, Leon (Noscio), member of NSZZ Solidarity from the Nowa Ruda colliery in Nowa Ruda who was detained on the day that martial law was declared, pledged himself to observing the legal order. He was released but already on the next day at his place of work he made an attempt to organize a strike. On 16 December he was arrested and the investigation against him is being conducted under summary procedure by the Army Prosecutor's Office.

Aleksandr (Przygodzinski), chairman of the Factory Committee of NSZZ Solidarity at the Bierut steelworks in Czestochowa, despite pledging himself to observe legal order in force during martial law, continued trade union activities by preparing news sheets [komunikat] and urging people to strike. On 20 December he was arrested. The investigation against him is being conducted under summary procedure.

(Andrzej Szalka), chairman of the Factory Committee of NSZZ Solidarity at the timber industry plant in Bialogard, pledged himself to the observance of legal order and in this connection he was released. On 15 December on the premises of his workplace he was distributing leaflets urging people to indulge in protest actions and strikes. He was arrested. An investigation against him is being conducted under summary procedure.

Henryk (Zlotowski), chairman of the Enterprise Committee of NSZZ Solidarity at the inland waterway ship repair yard in Nowa Sol, was detained on the day that martial law was declared. After pledging that he would observe legal order he was released. On 16 December he organized an illegal trade union meeting and in this connection he was arrested. The investigation against him is being conducted under summary procedure.

The press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reminds us that the principles which martial law introduces are binding on all citizens of the Polish People's Republic. Should these principles be violated the regulations stemming from the decree of the Council of State dated 12 December of this year will be applied.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY EASES CHRISTMAS TRAVEL

LD211718 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 81

["Announcement" from the press spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Text] In view of the gradual improvement of social discipline, it has become possible to make it easier for people to travel within the framework of the traditional Christmas visits. The minister of internal affairs has ordered that for the period from 22 December until 28 December, the obligation to obtain a permit for temporary change of domicile by persons traveling within a given voivodship, and the obligation to report before the expiry of 12 hours after arrival in the given locality in the same voivodship, be abolished.

During that period, persons changing their temporary domicile are under obligation to report before the expiry of the fourth 24-hour period, in conformity with the regulations binding before the introduction of martial law. However, persons who have obtained permits for temporary stay in other voivodships must still report at once after arrival in a given locality, and certainly not later than after 12 hours. The above mitigations do not apply to persons traveling state border zones.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON SERVICE IN CIVIL DEFENSE

AU221700 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 4

[PAP headline: "Communique on Service in Civil Defense"]

[Text] In connection with the state of war and because of state security the head of the country's civil defense issued a decree on active service in civil defense during the state of war.

Persons attached, under the organizational and mobilization schemes, to the following civil defense formations and to the services included in these formations have to do active service in civil defense:

-- civil service units in which draftees do their national service in civil defense;

-- specialist first-aid units;

-- factory and local civil defense formations (this applies to the commands of these formations) and firefighting, medical-sanitary, public order and technical breakdown services.

The persons attached, under the organizational and mobilization schemes, to the aforementioned civil defense formations -- except for the draftees who are doing national service -- should report at once to the place stipulated on the assignment card or by the summons issued by the commander of the formation in question and should undertake the tasks ordered by his superior.

Members of labor battalions doing national service in civil defense and the persons attending the civil defense exercise in the aforementioned formations continue to do their service in line with the orders given them.

Members of the aforementioned civil defense formations and members of labor battalions doing their service outside their barracks may be summoned to the barracks by the decree issued by the minister or voivoda concerned. In such a case they are entitled to free board.

Persons do their active service in civil defense for the period of time and to the extent resulting from the tasks at hand, and in the specified formations for an indefinite period of time.

Persons on active service in civil defense are obliged to fully and punctually perform the duties given them by their superiors in connection with the implementation of civil defense tasks. These civic duties are legally based on the law on the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic dated 21 November 1967. Failure to fulfill these duties involves penal or disciplinary sanctions.

In line with article 234 of that law, the persons on active service in civil defense or drafted into this service bear penal responsibility for the crimes committed in connection with this service. They bear this responsibility in line with the regulations that apply to the soldiers on active military service in times of mobilization or war. Military courts try such crimes.

Failure to report for active service in civil defense by the given time and at the proper place is tantamount to failure to report for military service. The duty of civil defense is tantamount to the duty of military service. Civil defense service is the equivalent of active military service. Failure or refusal to obey the instructions of superiors involves consequences identical to those resulting from failure to obey military orders.

Persons called to active service in civil defense are subject to deprivation of freedom of 2 or more years all the way through to capital punishment if they fail to report for this service by the given time and at the specified place, if they avoid this service for longer periods of time or all the time or if they refuse to obey the instructions of their superiors concerning service tasks.

NATIONAL WORKERS' AGENCY BEGINS OPERATIONS

LD230048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] The National Workers' Agency, founded by virtue of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum began operations a few days ago. The objective of the agency is to supply the press, radio and television with commentaries related to current problems in the life of the country.

Reports, commentaries and interviews prepared by the agency's journalists will promote the programme and concrete actions of the party and party echelons and organizations.

The agency will pay particular interest to activities by the government and the administration which are aimed at the earliest possible ending of the country's crisis and at the bringing about of socioeconomic stabilization. The agency will also carry materials portraying the efforts of the community and the authorities designed to consolidate the sense of durable social relations and security in everyday life.

Domestic issues will be commented on in a broad, international context, with special consideration for the place and role of Poland in the contemporary world. Pride of place will be given to topics connected with the situation in the international workers movement.

The reformed agency continues the traditions and great achievements of the Workers' Agency which was dissolved in the seventies. The employees and contributors of the new agency include well known journalists and commentators. The agency operates within the framework of the "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" Workers' Publishing Cooperative.

FORMER ENVOY TO U.S. AIDING WESTERN PROPAGANDA

LD221216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Voices of calm and prudence predominate in the assessment by the world mass media of the events in Poland. They emphasize the gravity of the situation in our country and at the same time speak of the need not to interfere in Poland's affairs. Many agencies focus attention on Primate Jozef Glemp's Sunday letter to the faithful.

However, quite a few voices in the press of the capitalist countries, especially the leading nations of the Western world, are trying to use Polish problems to unleash a propaganda hullabaloo around People's Poland, thus reflecting their disappointment that the confrontation which might have been was prevented by the introduction of the state of martial law. The desertion of Romauld Spasowski, the former Polish ambassador to the United States, and his slanderous statements play a not unimportant role in these efforts.

ZSL SECRETARIAT ASSESSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

LD222130 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] A session of the ZSL Supreme Committee Secretariat was held today. An assessment of the current sociopolitical and economic situation of the country was made and also of the tasks stemming from this assessment for the members of ZSL organizations and echelons. The need for activities aimed at stabilizing the situation in the country and at rebuilding the economic ties between towns and the countryside was stressed with particular emphasis.

The Secretariat expressed appreciation to all those farmers who, bearing in mind the supply difficulties of towns, are speeding up supplies of agricultural produce to socialized purchasing centers. The conclusions stemming from the assessment of the implementation of the guidelines of the party Central Committee Politburo and of the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium in the matter of key problems pertaining to agricultural policy, agriculture and the foodstuff economy were also discussed. This policy will be continued and consistently implemented.

COOPERATIVES COUNCIL APPEALS FOR CIVIC DISCIPLINE

LD230954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Cooperatives has issued an appeal to cooperative workers, which says among other things:

"Today our country has found itself in a situation which particularly demands from each of us, from every cooperative employee, a full and at the same time conscious civic discipline, a thorough carrying out of the tasks which confront each cooperative, each enterprise.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Cooperatives appeals to all cooperative members, cooperative activists and employees, for a full and universal subordination to the requirements which arise from martial law.

POPE JOHN PAUL II REITERATES APPEAL FOR PEACE

LD222122 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Pope John Paul II has again appealed for the preservation of peace in Poland. Speaking in the Paul VI Hall in the Vatican the pope said, among other things, that he entrusted to Our Lady of Czestochowa the prayers for the peaceful resolution of the situation in Poland. He urged everyone to maintain restraint and to unite in efforts designed to restore calm in our country.

CURFEW ABOLISHED FOR MIDNIGHT MASS 24 DEC

LD221940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] In order to make it possible to attend the traditional midnight mass on Christmas eve, the minister of internal affairs has decreed that the curfew will be abolished throughout the country for the night of 24-25 December. The Polish radio will broadcast midnight mass in the national program on 24 December at midnight.

On the first day of Christmas on 25 December at 0900 there will be a broadcast of mass for the sick from the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw.

OBODOWSKI, JEDYNAK MEET ENTERPRISE DIRECTORS

LD222040 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] The directors of several dozen transportation and industrial enterprises met today at the offices of the Council of Ministers. Taking part in the meeting were Deputy Premiers Janusz Obodowski and Andrzej Jedynak.

The directors reported extensively on the situation in their own enterprises. One can say in general terms that there is a gradual return to normal. Also, one can observe a widespread improvement in discipline, and often, although not everywhere, even an increase in labor productivity. However, this increase is being weakened by absenteeism due to sickness, which has grown in the past few days. Breakdowns of machinery have decreased. The situation would be even better if it were not for supply and coproduction difficulties, made worse by the lack of communications.

The atmosphere among factory workforces is not favorable everywhere. At many factories the division among workforces which was prevalent during conditions of political struggle is being overcome with difficulty. The Military Council of National Salvation statement declaring a readiness to continue reforms appeased many persons. The announcement that the activities of trade unions and workers' self-management will be resumed, conditions permitting, was also received positively. No one within the state can remain outside control. This was said by the directors, who defined themselves as being the strong arm of the people.

Much attention was devoted to the trade unions during the meeting. It was said that during the period that their activities have been suspended, social sections and workers' services should intensify their work by making use of the party and union aktiv, which are ready for social activity.

At many factories a start is being made on setting up workers' commissions dealing with social and everyday life matters. The need to select leading cadres at all levels in an appropriate manner was discussed. The most important tasks facing directors and enterprises in the martial law period in the sphere of production, supplies, sales, employment and cadre policy were also discussed.

KUBIAK MEETS WITH KRAKOW PZPR OFFICIALS

LD222132 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2050 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] During his stay in Krakow, Prof Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, met with the Secretariat of the Krakow party committee and the first secretaries of the party district committees.

The discussion dealt with the country's situation, the situation in the Krakow Municipal Voivodship and tasks in party work. Hieronim Kubiak, who is one of the cofounders of the Krakow club "Kuznica," also met with club members, representatives of science and art and lecturers of the Krakow party committee.

REPORTAGE OF REGIONAL CONDITIONS, DISMISSAL

Wloclawek Forgers Discovered

LD221448 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Militiamen in Wloclawek got wind of and uncovered a group of criminals, forgers of supply coupons for alcohol. The gang had forged and used several hundred coupons to the value of Z150,000.

The perpetrators have been arrested. The investigation is being conducted by the Citizens' Militia headquarters in Wloclawek.

Conditions in Torun Voivodship

LD230032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] GAZETA POMORSKA editor Tadeusz Wladyko interviews the plenipotentiary military commissioner of the National Salvation Council for Torun Voivodship, Maj Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski. We will read a few excerpts:

The GAZETA POMORSKA reporter asked: What is the general situation in the Torun Voivodship compared with last week?

Maj Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski answered: We must understand the conditions of martial law and other rigorous laws, the infringement of which brings about painful consequences. One ought to stress, however, with full appreciation, the bearing of the inhabitants of the Torun Voivodship. One notices their serious comprehension of the existing situation and an exceptionally high degree of discipline.

The few excesses which occurred last Monday and Tuesday can be regarded as instances of little importance. These were not even attempts to organize strikes, in the full sense of the word, but rather reflexes of individuals resulting from their failure to fully realize the seriousness of martial law and its consequences. They were speedily warded off and they have not clouded the stabilizing production movement, the ever more efficiently functioning economy and state administration.

Experiences to date, the reporter notes, allow one to presume that due to the active work of the community, our life will systematically become more stable. Authentic conditions will be provided for the implementation of the process of socialist renewal, in line with the interests of the working class.

The army was, is and will remain in support of the process of renewal, said General Ostrowski. But it also wants to stand guard over the elimination from our organism of detrimental processes. It is also imperative to oust from social and economic life men who in various ways hamper this process. Consequently, in the Torun Voivodship, certain personnel changes must take place, but these should be made when emotions have subsided and after a thorough and prudent analysis.

Last Saturday this problem was one of the topics at the debate, of the voivodship Defense Committee. The communist must be convinced of the need to accept realism, which is certainly not easy, but which is emerging from the current compulsory situation. Many people will have to learn anew to observe the law, to adhere to the binding social norms.

We must bear in mind that only in a climate of complete security, order and social discipline can we talk about the continuation of the process of democratization which was so brutally interrupted by forces hostile to the country.

Walbrzych Voivodship 'Normal'

LD221940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Life in Walbrzych Voivodship is systematically returning to normal. The region's factories and institutions are working normally and the discipline of factory workforces is also improving. The extraction of coal in mines which come under the Lower Silesian coal industry amalgamation is up to and also in excess of the planned 24-hour level. No disruptions are being registered in food supplies. The authorities are making efforts to ensure that the December meat ration coupons can be redeemed almost fully by Christmas. Road services are coping more efficiently than in previous years as regards clearing snow from streets and settlements.

People who have not met the martial law requirements continue to be dismissed from their posts. Among others, the Walbrzycn voivoda has recalled Jozef Adamski from the post of mayor [naczelnik] of Klodzko.

The sociopolitical situation of Walbrzych Voivodship was the subject of a discussion at a session of the executive of the voivodship PZPR committee. Greater activity by the region's party organizations, particularly at primary level, was stated to be taking place.

Szczecin Weapons Confiscation

LD222154 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] These squibs of great explosive capacity, bayonets, knives, ammunition and batons will not be used again. On 19 December they were confiscated by the military and militia operational group at the Parnica repair shipyard in Szczecin. They were stored in the lockers of a small group of employees and students of the school at the works. Who thought it important to prepare a disaster? Doubtless it was not the majority of the workforce which subordinated itself to the head of the operational group. In order to find an unambiguous answer to this question, the Szezecin Voivodship headquarters of the Citizens' Militia is conducting an investigation under the supervision of the regional prosecutor's office.

Here is an example from the Borynia mine where on 14 December irresponsible trade union activists organized a sit-in strike. No direct activities were undertaken; the attempt was made to influence the course of events by other means. Consequently, the strikers left the works which had turned into a fortress in which Poles alone could have perished. On the roof there are containers, bottles with gasoline inside them and by the windows, iron scrap, pickaxes and bricks. Representatives of the military prosecutor's office secured hundreds of such objects on the spot.

More Dismissals Reported

LD222218 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2050 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] The PAP Editorial Office has received more news about the recall of directors.

The minister of construction and construction materials industry has recalled Eng Krzysztof Gruba, director of the municipal construction bureau in Nysa, due to the loss of management ability during martial law.

M.A. Eng Bronislaw Cieslak, director of the industrial construction enterprise Petrobudowa, has been recalled on the motion of the Plock voivoda. On the other hand, the director of the municipal economy and housing amalgamation in Szczecin has recalled the area director of the water and sewers enterprise and the director of the voivodship enterprise for the exploitation of municipal plants, due to the loss of effective action under martial law conditions.

Strike Organizers Indicted

LD222100 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] In the course of the past 24 hours the organs of the civil and military prosecution have continued the presecution of the perpetrators of offenses against the security of the state, public order and the interests of the citizenry.

More indictments were sent to the courts for summary proceedings. Among others, they were sent to the voivodship courts in Katowice against Marian Jamroz and Ryszard Szeleng. They are charged with the organization and implementation of a strike in the Montomet repair and assembly plant in Tarnowskie Gory.

In Kielce there were indictments against the following who had been arrested: Jan Milik, Jozef Mazurek and Jozef Slavon, organizers of strikes in the Karsznica cast iron plant.

In Lodz, Wlodzimierz Wierucki, Mieczyslaw Bednarski and Ryszard Kosmala were charged with similar offenses in the wool industry plant.

The military prosecutors have sent to military courts for summary proceedings indictments against Andrezej Radajewski, charged with the dissemination of false news designed to arouse social unrest, and Marek Opas and Roman Sylewski, charged with producing and distributing leaflets containing false information designed to arouse public unrest.

Summary proceedings and temporary arrest have been applied by military prosecutors to, among others, Wieslaw Rozyk, who is charged with organizing a strike committee in the Jankowice hard coal mine, breaking into a storage trolley, and the theft of dynamite and mining fuses which he then fixed in the mine's shafts and prepared for detonation. Stanislaw [name indistinct] charged with collecting and storing gunpowder and mining fuses. Arkadjusz Gajec was charged with the possession of three handguns ammunition and a fuse.

In civil prosecution offices investigations under summary proceedings have been started and among others the following were arrested: in Gdansk, Jerzy Rymkowski, Leszek Mlot, and Ryszard Jankiewicz were charged with attempting to set on fire the Citizens' Militia station with bottles of gasoline.

In Wroclaw, Jerzy Lebioda, who has a criminal record for rape, burglary and robbery with the use of a dangerous instrument, was charged with robbery and assault with a knife against a woman returning from work. He was charged with stealing her money and ring and with rape. Jerzy Lebioda acted with another culprit for whom a vigorous search is in progress.

The military and civil prosecutors have been continuing operations to prevent protest actions and strikes and to explain the contents of the legal regulations binding under the conditions of martial law. Such actions have been undertaken in the Bielsko, Chelm and Torun Voivodships, thus contributing in many instances to the calming of feelings among the workforces in production establishments.

Piast Miners' Strike Continues

LD221240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Life is returning progressively to normal throughout the country. Despite the numerous restrictions of martial law, both the economy and citizens' everyday life are steadily returning to normal, in accordance with universal expectations.

Today is generally calm and industrious in Katowice Voivodship. Railwaymen are particularly busy ferrying goods, transporting people and clearing snow from the rail tracks and track-side equipment.

More than 424,000 tons of various goods have been transported out of Katowice Voivodship during the past 24 hours. Most industrial plants are operating.

However, strikes at the Ziemowit and Piast mines and at the Katowice steelworks are continuing. In Piast colliery 1,740 miners are underground; in Ziemowit colliery there are 1,154. During the past 24 hours more miners returned to the surface. One of them informed our Katowice correspondents that miners who wish to end the strike in the Piast colliery are being terrorized. When they want to go up to the surface, all their clothes are taken away from them, water is poured over them and they are spat upon. A priest went down to see the striking miners in the Piast colliery. He called on them to return to the surface. According to information received, the sit-in strike in both collieries is, to a significant extent, based on psychological pressure and even on terror.

Piast Miner Interview

LD222110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Today has been a peaceful day in the Katowice Voivodship. People are taking advantage of the lifting of the ban on free movement within the territory of voivodships and are shopping for Christmas. There has been a slight improvement in Silesia in the supply of goods. Shops are better supplied with foodstuffs than before the introduction of the state of martial law, specially regarding the supply of meat. This has resulted also from the increase in the procurement of livestock in Katowice Voivodship.

Bus transportation is functioning fairly efficiently despite the difficult winter conditions. According to opinions which one can hear expressed at bus stops, the Katowice Voivodship transportation enterprise has been working better than ever before. However, there has been considerable disruption in the railroad transportation of both passengers and goods. Despite the fact that 1,400 people are continuously clearing snow from the tracks there have been considerable delays in the arrival of trains, including trains transporting coal.

Yesterday miners produced 573,000 tons of coal. A part of the workforces of the Piast and Ziemowit collieries have been occupying two production levels. It has been established that the occupation of the two mines is the result of psychological pressure, or even terror, exerted by extremist Solidarity activists at those collieries, as well as by persons who have arrived there from other localities in the voivodship.

We have today received an interview on the subject, recorded by Katowice reporter, Janusz (Kucik):

[Begin recording] [Kucik] For a long time coal has been the fundamental element of the Polish economy. Now in the conditions of the state of martial law, the stabilization of the national economy depends on the increase in the extraction of coal.

A decisive majority of hard coal mines are functioning normally: At Piast and Ziemowit collieries groups of terrorists -- I do not hesitate to use this word -- each of them some scores of people strong, make the work of miners impossible. At the Piast colliery there are still more than 1,700 miners kept underground against their will. I have visited the home of one of the miners of Piast colliery.

One of your colleagues of the Ziemowit colliery agreed to make a statement for Polish television. You, in your turn, have agreed to talk with a radio journalist but on the condition that your surname is not mentioned. What is the reason for it?

[Unidentified miner] I do not want to have my name revealed because, simply, I am afraid. People who wished to return to the surface have been treated in such a way that, really and truly, everybody would be afraid [words indistinct].

[Question] We can naturally understand and share your fears. Let us therefore go back to the events which began all this, that is the events of 15 December, or rather the night from Monday to Tuesday, 14-15 December. You then normally went down in the normal way?

[Answer] Yes, I went underground in the normal way. On the surface there was no indication that there was a strike in progress underground. Everybody went down freely and in the normal manner. Once we reached the bottom it turned out that a strike was in progress. We were being directed where they wanted us to go. Those who wanted to find a job to do [words indistinct]. In the morning when we wanted to go up it was impossible to do so.

[Question] Why was it impossible?

[Answer] Only two parties went up in the elevator: Those who were in the front and wanted to go up. The others who were further back standing in a line, as usual, before going up, could not get into the elevator because they simply blocked the shaft and used such physical resistance that, without any attempts at beating up or similar measures, simply by blocking the entrance to the shaft they prevented people from going through.

[Question] At the Ziemowit colliery there were cases of using physical pressure on miners who did not want to strike. At the Piast colliery, your colliery, one can talk only about psychological pressure?

[Answer] Yes. Physical pressure has not been used at all. They simply were using intimidation, frightening us that they would use force against those who wanted to go up. But it was not carried out with regard to any one person. Only that psychologically, one was so tormented and one had to humiliate oneself so much that anyone who had any pride or honor could not afford to go up.

[Question] Resistance was then broken down by psychological pressure. How was it done?

[Answer] Simply vulgar words were used against people, men were spat at in the face, water was poured over people. This sort of thing had to be experienced. It was very hard.

[Question] Is it true that one of the miners at the Piast colliery who wanted to go up was stripped naked and soaked with icy water?

[Answer] I did not see that and I cannot state that that is true but I was told, personally, that if I did not strip naked I would not be allowed into the elevator to go up. But somehow we were allowed to get into the elevator without stripping.

[Question] Do you think that what has happened in Piast colliery can be called a strike?

[Answer] It seems to me that a strike happens when those who protest are taking part in a protest voluntarily. I admit that in the beginning it did look like a strike, during the first day and perhaps the second day but afterwards, with every new day it was no longer a strike but holding up people underground.

[Question] Did anybody try to draw their attention and warn them against the consequences of violating the decree on the state of martial law?

[Answer] They might have been warned but they spread a silly rumor among the people to the effect that we had a better chance underground to survive this so-called war than on the surface. They said: Here we are safe, but on the surface they can come at any moment and shoot you.

[Question] They intimidated you with reprisals?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Yet, despite all this a total of 124 miners from Piast colliery ran away from that strike. At the Ziemowit colliery even more escaped -- almost 900. But of course, it is more difficult to get out of Piast colliery.

[Answer] Well, I do not know what attitude they take at Ziemowit colliery toward people who wish to go up, but at Piast colliery if anyone has any pride he cannot approach the shaft to go up. Except many men escaped with the priest when he came down underground. Then they did not hinder anyone because they simply would have been too embarrased to take such actions in the presence of priests.

[Question] And the priest tried to persuade men to abandon the strike?

[Answer] Yes, he did. He spoke openly and sincerely to people, but men [words indistinct] did not react to it. Everyone was so bewildered by what the others had been saying about the things that were going up on the surface.

They said that not one of those who went up had called back, which meant that nobody could say what happened, that evidently they are being locked up, because if everything was all right on the surface those who had gone up would have called back saying that everything was all right and we could come up. Yet nobody did this.

[Question] How did you leave Piast colliery?

[Answer] Simply I took a big chance: Either I would go up or they would do me in [word indistinct]. Other colleagues decided on the same course of action and so we all got together and took a big chance: Either we get out or we do not [words indistinct].

[Question] You managed to get out and the authorities on the surface did not put you in prison. Yet you did not think of ringing back to your colleagues to tell them that it was not so bad up on the surface?

[Answer] I admit that this is true but my colleague called back in my presence. Two other colleagues of ours who came up also called back [words indistinct] some of the men down below got the message but I do not know about others.

[Question] Finally, the Piast colliery ultimately will resume work. How do you imagine the moment when you start work again? How will you be able to look each other in the face? You and the people who organized the strike, who exerted pressures, who allowed themselves to be broken down and those who resisted the attempts to break? After all you have to be one workforce.

[Answer] Strictly speaking I am unable to imagine how people will react to each other. Undoubtedly there will never be any agreement. There will be no agreement because the plans of some cut right across the plans of others. Indeed, there will certainly be no agreement.

[Question] In other words the workforce has been split?

[Answer] Indeed, the workforce has been split.

Gdansk Port Working Normally

LD221942 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpts] According to Lechoslaw Stefaniak, our Gdansk correspondent, the Gdansk port has been working normally since yesterday to the extent to which difficult winter conditions make it possible.

During the 24-hour period yesterday Gdansk dockers transloaded 12,422 tons of goods. Today working conditions are similar. Work is made difficult by snow and frost reaching 22 centigrade, causing coal conveyor belts to freeze in the northern port. It is in the northern port that the transloading of 70,000 tons of coal onto an English flag bulk carrier, the Farland, is in progress. Apart from this the workforce is serving 68 railcoaches with 3,000 tons of export coal. There are 21 ships in the entire Gdansk port, including 5 general cargo vessels from which imported tea is being unloaded and 4 vessels with phosphorites. Timber, coal and grain are also being transloaded. The manpower on the first and second shifts is at the planned level.

In accordance with instructions, Christmas and New Year's trips by ferries have been called off. The winter cruise timetable, that is from Gdansk to Helsinki, is being maintained. A small movement of passengers and a reduced supply of goods are being observed. Scandinavian senders are simply anxious about whether the goods will reach the recipients. Polish motor transportation assures, however, that it has at its disposal sufficient transport to efficiently send domestic and transit cargo from Scandinavia via Poland to South Eruope.

PROSECUTION, STATEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS

Activists Indicted

LD222130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] As of yesterday 20 voivodship courts throughout the country have received 24 cases related to 54 persons. Most of them are cases against activists of NSZZ Solidarity who encouraged strikes or have organized them under conditions of martial law.

Other cases have the characteristics of ordinary offenses. An example could be the case of Wladyslaw and Jozef Oracz and Stanislaw Baranek in the Nowy Sacz Voivodship Court who are charged with theft by burglary. Today, cases were in progress in the Warsaw Voivodship Court against Zenon Nowak and Tadeusz Paczuszko, members of NSZZ Solidarity and employees of the nuclear reserach institute who are charged with organizing a sit-in strike on 14 December in one of the departments of the institute.

Also in the Warsaw Voivodship Court Miroslaw Budrewicz, a Warsaw University student, was charged with the dissemination of leaflets criticizing the State Council decree on martial law.

In the Slupsk Voivodship Court proceedings were in progress against Grzegorz Glapinski, a recidivist, charged with an attempted burglary and theft on 14 December, together with an unknown person, from the WSS [voivodship consumer cooperative] stores. Five more cases have been fixed for tomorrow, all under summary proceedings.

In conformity with the State Council decree the Warsaw Voivodship Court decided at a trial yesterday to transfer the case against the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland to the military court for disposition. The court decision is based on article 25, paragraph 1 of the penal proceedings code in connection with article 18 of the State Council decree of 12 December of this year on the transfer to the jurisdiction of military courts of cases for certain offenses during the duration of martial law.

Former NSZZ Official's Speech

LD221802 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Statement by Boguslaw Ziobrowski, former deputy chairman of the Wroclaw NSZZ Solidarity Interfactory Founding Committee; recorded]

[Text] Our activity has been distorted. It has been distorted because in August 1980 the whole thing was initiated and developed by workers. Later this began to disappear. Various people began to join the union. Social Self-Defense Committee, Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Movement for Defense of Human and Civil Rights activists joined us. These people perhaps wanted to do their own thing. Our union is enormous, 10 million strong, and the intention was to use this strength, these workers. The statements by Rozwalak from Poznan, Zierke from Slupsk, which have been published, are right in my view.

I also want to be heard by the greatest possible number of my former collaborators from the Lower Silesia regional board and also by collaborators from other work enterprises who fell victim to manipulation by pseudo-activists. At the same time I want to serve workers with my experience, zest, vigor and good sense, good sense which is needed very much at the moment.

Interned Leaders Interviewed

LD222350 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2050 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Ryszard Maleczek, a reporter of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA published in Katowice, has interviewed two interned leaders of Solidarity -- Kazimierz Switon and Andrzej Rozplochowski.

The former chairman of the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKZ] and member of the National Commission [KK], Andrzej Rozplochowski, took up the conversation on the subject of his activities and the activities of the union. He made light of the charge concerning abuses and irregularities in the management of the finances of the MKZ revealing, at the same time, that the Katowice MKZ had received two printing presses from Norway. Let us recall that a special Solidarity commission also blamed Rozplochowski for a scandalous management of the finances of the union, disregard of the interests of the union and of its members.

Rozplochowski did not take it at all seriously as these issues did not cause him much concern. His element and passion was the struggle -- the struggle against the PZPR and people's power. Together with Zbigniew Iwanow and Karol Modzelewski, he was a member of the team elaborating, during the Solidarity congress, the principles of cooperation with the party and with administrative authorities. He was against launching cooperation of any kind, even talks. He told the representative of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA that on this issue he was bound by the resolution adopted as early as last year. Neither did he think that he had contributed to the creation in the country of a situation which compelled the authorities to introduce the state of martial law. As a Presidium member of the former KK he knew nothing about the instructions concerning street fighting and the shooting at people; all that was bad and dangerous was happening without his knowledge. The chief of one of the biggest regions in the country has suddenly become ignorant of all things and everything. Surprising, what a short memory this 31-year old man has.

However, it is difficult to expect amnesia on the scale of the general public. The words and actions of Rozplochowski are well remembered also by his colleagues from the Silesian Solidarity. It was not at all by chance that some 100 works commissions in Silesia found themselves in open opposition to MKZ Chairman Rozplochowski.

Among the adventurists who found shelter under the protective wings of Solidarity Rozplochowski occupied a special place.

His strong arm activities go back to the very first days of the strike in 1980 when, with the aid of a selected group, he removed Fabry, the original chairman of the Strike Committee at the Katowice foundry. The latter had made an agreement with the management about interrupting the strike. Rozplochowski prolonged the strike for 2 days, threatening and blackmailing the management by claiming he would put out blast furnaces in order to obtain promises which were unrealistic in practice. As early as in September 1980 he demanded that members of Solidarity adopt a clear political definition of the organization.

He did not tolerate around himself those who were hesitant and undecided. Such people were in his eyes collaborators with the reds. It was Rozplochowski's achievement to set up the publication WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC (FREE TRADE UNIONIST) which later became famous for its clearly anti-Soviet and anti-party articles.

Rozplochowski personally emphasized plans for the physical destruction of the representatives of central authorities and Citizens' Militia and security service employees. Characteristic were his declarations during the strike in March: If Walesa sells out Silesia in a deal with the government we shall not give in. Let them butcher or murder us: For each member of Solidarity we shall shoot three militia men.

He was increasingly showing his preferences for the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], supporting in official speeches the so-called ideological declaration of that grouping. Within the MKE and with the consent of Rozplochowski, KPN badges and publications were sold. In December 1980 Andrzej Rozplochowski, in an article published in POLITYKA, stated: We cannot allow a situation in which the government asks us: What are you, as Solidarity, proposing for the economic reform? This is not our job. Efforts are being made to make us shoulder joint responsibility and joint government of this country. We can do this as individual citizens, but not as trade unionists. This is the job of the government and for this job it should be accountable.

In October 1981, at the Solidarity congress, Rozplochowski said: Bring about, above all, the breakdown of political power. In other words, we must get rid of the works party committees. Simply, we have found that a fundamental form of the political impact upon production processes is provided, precisely, by the party committees.

When the possibility of decisionmaking was taken over in Solidarity by those who were called advisers -- Kuron, Modzelewski, Onyszkiewicz and Gieremek -- ordinary adventurists were active in their service: precisely such men as Andrezej Rozplochowski.

I would like to remind you that the pen portrait of Andrzej Rozplochowski has been published in the Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OFFER, DELIVER SUPPLIES

CSSR, USSR Supplies Arrive

LD222340 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2050 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpts] A plane from Czechoslovakia has landed in Warsaw bringing in six tons of semolina, five tons of milk, three tons of concentrated soups and a large amount of medicines. The assistance from Czechoslovakia, whose total value amounts to about R34 million, includes a considerable amount of medicines.

Extra supplies of pork and beef are arriving from the Soviet Union at the Zurawica-Werchrata-Medyka station complex. Today about 300 tons of meat were received to be sent immediately to the interior. In the last few days we have received over 620 tons of meat from the USSR and more deliveries are planned.

A protocol has been signed in Ulaanbaatar on the urgent supply to Poland, free of charge, of 2,000 tons of beef and mutton from Mongolia.

Bulgarian Food Aid

LD231000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] The Sofia correspondent of PAP reports that more than 1,000 tons of food and consumer items have already been sent from Bulgaria to Poland. In connection with the difficult economic situation in Poland, we have received these articles from the Bulgarian Government as special aid, and on credit terms. Thanks to this we shall pay for these deliveries only after 1983. The goods were dispatched to Poland over the past 4 days, in 69 Polish trucks. They were loaded with, among other things: 320 tons of meat and meat-vegetable preserves, 100 tons of macaroni, as well as 350 tons of soap, 108 tons of tooth-paste and 140 tons of cigarettes.

Efforts are underway to send further Bulgarian deliveries by rail transportation.

POLISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY MEETS IN WARSAW

LD222110 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society met in Warsaw today. The discussion at the meeting covered the tasks of this organization in the situation of martial law. The Presidium gave full support to the activities of the Military Council of National Salvation, which prevented the threat of a domestic war and stemmed the activities of counterrevolutionary forces concentrated in illegal organizations and in the executive elements of Solidarity, as which also created chances for the continuation of the line of socialist renewal. The Presidium expressed its appreciation of the work done by the activities of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society who, in the difficult conditions of political strife, opposed anti-Soviet and antisocialist activities and gained the broad support of individuals and public organizations. This was expressed by signing the appeal to the Polish people on the necessity of defending Polish-Soviet friendship. Society welcomes with appreciation and gratitude the new proof of friendship encountered by our nation coming from the fraternal Soviet people and from the countries of the socialist community, expressed in the moral-political support for our country and in the increased material aid including the supply of essential market goods such as food-stuffs and medicaments as well as gifts for children. The Presidium appealed to all members of society to take an active part in work connected with the directives of the Military Council of National Salvation and to step up activities aimed at strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship and the expansion of its base among the public.

PENSION INCREASES EFFECTIVE IN DECEMBER

LD230226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] The Social Insurance Office [ZUS] reports that the increases have been completed in the lowest old age and other pensions on the basis of the Council of Ministers decree dated 7 September of this year. The average increase amounts to 530 zlotys a month. The lowest such allowances for private farmers have been increased by an average of 346 zlotys a month. A total of 2.94 million of the lowest old age and other pensions have been included in the increase, and 17.1 billion zlotys have been allocated for these increases each year. These increases were implemented as of November of this year.

The ZUS has also calculated the compensation for increases in the prices of bread and grain products paid by the post office from September through November to all old age and other pensioners, including those in the system of pension allowances for private farmers. The payments amounted to 3.6 billion zlotys for the 3 months. Starting in December, old age and other pensioners will receive the appropriate compensations every month along with the old age and other pension allowances to which they are entitled.

'FOR THOSE AT SEA' RADIO PROGRAM RESUMES

LD230146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0006 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Editor Kazimiere Zalejski report]

[Excerpts] Dear friends at sea: Today, after an interval of a few days we resume the Polish radio program "For Those at Sea". We are resuming the program on long and medium wave and not on short wave. Thus the range of our programs will be shorter than in the past. We realize that our programs can be heard, only with excellent conditions, by those crews which are in seas outside Europe. But we assume that these programs will be audible for about 1/3 of the crews.

I hope that as the normalization of living conditions in Poland progresses, and much already testifies to progress in this respect, we will acquire an opportunity to avail ourselves of technical means of communications necessary for the implementation of [word indistinct] our program.

We realize that our sailors on distant voyages and the fishermen on distant fishing grounds are during the particularly difficult time for us Poles especially craving news from Poland where their families and dear ones are. We will do everything in order to improve this radio liaison with the country and give the widest possible range.

REOPENING OF SCHOOLS 4 JANUARY ANNOUNCED

LD230932 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] Schools will reopen on 4 January under conditions of martial law. (Maria Mazurowa), director of the general education department in the Ministry of Education and Training, told a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist that in addition to the restrictions connected with the situation in the country, there will be difficulties in transporting children to schools and a shortage of heating fuel -- in other words, all the inconveniences of winter. Hence, good work organization, careful consideration by principals of all decisions and discipline among educational workers are of particular importance. We have learned that schools will be using the curriculum which has been in force to date. Lecture plans will also not be altered. However, in exceptional cases a school principal has the right to reduce curriculum content and the right, even the duty, to introduce changes in weekly schedules should conditions require them. Schools will remain on a 5-day week. Recreational activities will reorganize on Saturdays.

COMMENTARIES ASSESS MARTIAL LAW SITUATION

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Views

LD230726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 23 Dec 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Summing up the days that have passed, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes that we Poles realize that we have managed to avoid paying the highest price. We have managed to avoid what the primate of Poland called the worst evil, and what could have been fratricidal struggle. Martial law continues in the country; severe regulations imposed by the situation have prevented our nation from experiencing a catastrophy the consequences of which are difficult to comprehend.

The strength and martial law regulations create successful barriers against anarchy, strikes, violence, robbery, and speculation. [sentence as heard] Force enforces obedience to the law and principles of social coexistence. However, it is also true that it is impossible to resolve our Polish affairs, the causes of which brought about the crisis, by force. Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about this in his radio and television speech.

In the final part of the commentary the paper emphasizes: Poland will be a free and strong country if we will be able to lift ourselves above quarrels and if we will be able to rouse all Poles to actions which constitute material foundations of our future, a future which will be worthy of our national tradition and aspirations.

Thus, the fate of Poland is in the hands of those who create material goods. It also depends to a considerable degree on what response the words General Jaruzelski addressed to Polish intelligentsia will receive [word indistinct] appeal so that on this dangerous turn of our history, common sense wins against emotions, intellectual understanding of patriotism wins against phantom myths.

Need for 'Painful Reflection'

LD221250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1125 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU carries an interesting commentary entitled "Bridges Instead of Barricades." It touches upon the dilemmas of the leaders of various cells of Solidarity, in particular those who were closest to the workers in the factories. They know best, as do the majority of workers, that the fascination with the post-August idea of a great renewal, social justice, law and order and cogovernance, an idea which from the beginning constituted their union credo, was stronger than any arguments. Doubts which arose with time and anxiety when the idea collided with different facts were rejected by them as subjective, erroneous and at times as a downright malicious evaluation of events.

But a time for painful reflection has come, we read on, a time for a down-to-earth evaluation of events which in the end brought the country to disaster and many average people to utter confusion. I do not think, Wladyslaw Bielski writes, that they have to publicly cover their heads with ashes, although no doubt many of them are wondering whether they will be the objects of revenge.

We read in the final part of the article: We are not seeking revenge. We shall consistently purge Polish life of evil irrespective of where it comes from, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. This means to judge people harshly, but justly, in accordance with the legal code in force today, and at the same time to extend an outstretched hand to all those who, conscious of their mistakes and often with a feeling of bitterness and disappointment, are undertaking the difficult task of trying to save the nation.

Martial Law Viewed

AU221430 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 3

[Unattributed article: "For the Sake of Saving the Fatherland"]

[Text] Yesterday, by a decree of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, martial law was introduced throughout the land. This legal act was taken in the face of a direct threat to the existence and safety of the state by counterrevolution, which sets itself the direct goal of abolishing the socialist political system and liquidating the Polish people's statehood.

As a result of the activity by counterrevolutionary forces organized by political gamblers in the Social Self-Defense Committee, the Independent Students Association and the Young Poland Movement, by activists and sympathizers of the illegal Confederation for an Independent Poland and also by anticommunist extremists located in various branches of Solidarity, our homeland, People's Poland, found itself in mortal danger. As Gen W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, said in his speech to the nation: "The achievement of many generations, the reconstruction of Polish houses from ashes, is all falling into ruin."

There is not a single day without the outbreak of some strike, often for grotesque reasons, and it has been like this since last year. As a result there has been a drastic fall in industrial output and national income. Branches of the national economy are markedly withering away in the life of the community and at the same time inflation is rising, the market structure is becoming unstable and the economic ties between town and country are being broken. The law is being generally broken, public buildings and seats of state administration are being occupied by force. Brutal attempts to remove socialist elements from the democratic institutions of the state are multiplying. Appeals to take physical action against the "reds", against people having different views, are being made.

All the time the Solidarity leadership has been playing a perfidious political game at the cost of the citizens of our state. This disrespectful attitude toward the community has often been reflected in the abusive statements by the leaders of this organization, for instance in the statements of Marian Jurczyk, Bujak and others addressed to the highest representations of the Polish nation -- the Sejm -- and also in statements by other political organizations and groups.

The Solidarity leadership is treating the community as an instrument. It is cynically ursurping for itself the right to decide what the community should do and how it should act in order to satisfy the totalitarian aspirations of despotic union officials who are pushing the country to disaster. Up to now Solidarity was accusing the party and the government of supposedly striving toward confrontation. Now the game is up. The leaders of this organization have thrown off their disguise. They have openly displayed their intention of bringing the country to fratricide and of abolishing the people's state in order that authority in Poland may be seized by retrograde antisocialist forces. Civil war was proclaimed in Radom. Walesa, Rulewski, Bujak, Jaworski, Slowik and other all planned the bloody specter of confrontation. Solidarity resolutely rejected the idea of national agreement and the concept of setting up a council and front of national accord. This is yet another display of contempt for the universal expectations of the community, an expression of ignoring the superior interest of the nation and state, a proof of extreme adventurism.

This is all happening because Solidarity has turned from a trade union movement with great, dangerous political aspirations. This organization has become a protective umbrella for all illegal antisocialist organizations. Its structures and leading centers have been taken over by counterrevolutionary gruops. Anticommunist groups have arisen in its base, groups which are trying to assume the status of a political party, as for instance the Self-Governing Republic Clubs -- Freedom, Justice, Independence, Polish Democratic Party, Polish Labor Party, "Independence Service Clubs" and others.

A wave of impudent crimes, assaults and break-ins is sweeping Poland. It accompanies the wave of anarchy and social order caused by Solidarity and its anti-state agendas. In as little as 11 months of this year the crime rate has gone up by over 30 percent compared with the same period last year and has reached the horrifying figure of over 300,000 crimes. Over 500 murders, over 100 prisoners' riots and a dozen or so acts of air piracy have been recorded.

The degree to which the public order has been jeopardized is the work of Solidarity fighting squads organized in a fascist manner and largely comprising paid criminals and persons from the fringe of society. The beating up of the deputy station master in Chorzow was their work, among other things. Attention must be drawn to the fact that the bandit-like and criminal elements which play an extremely threatening role in street clashes and riots such as in Wroclaw, Katowice and Otwock, usually join the activities of Solidarity outside factories. And we ought to know that tens of thousands of dangerous criminals are roaming the country.

Solidarity's adventurist activity is destroying the process of socialist renewal and it hits out against those rights which the workers gained after August 1980.

Let us remind ourselves that in connection with this development of the situation, the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic adopted resolutions on two occasions, on 25 March and 30 October, urging chat destructive strike actions and activity wrecking social order be stopped.

These resolutions had no effect; neither did the appeals by the premier in the Sejm on 12 February 1981 for 30 days of peace, his appeal on 28 October and other government appeals. Party appeals at the fourth and sixth Central Committee plenums and appeals by other political organizations and parties had a similar effect. Solidarity quite simply brutally ignored them. The government and the party showed the utmost patience and goodwill in solving the social tensions and conflicts which had been instigated. They did everything they could to achieve national accord and save the country. Solidarity regarded this as a sign of weakness by the socialist state and carried on with its destructive actions. Since strikes, provocations, law-breaking and an already apparent course of action aimed at fratricidal struggle had directly threatened the Polish state, the need to block this wave of destruction arose. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "In this situation no action at all would be a crime against the nation. Enough is enough. We must block the road to confrontation which the Solidarity leaders have taken. The subversive activities by the counterrevolution which expose Poland to deadly danger must be resolutely countered. No one has the right to impudently play around with the fate of the nation!"

Martial law was introduced to avert a national tragedy in the interests of the Polish nation, in the interests of all those who profess the socialism of sociopolitical organizations and in the interests of each of us. The strict and extraordinary measures attached to this law are directed solely and exclusively against those who are sowing chaos and anarchy, creating conflicts and provocation, and forcing the nation to take up fratricidal struggle. For these forces and people there can no longer be any leniency.

It is clear that we will all be affected by the burden and difficulties of the new situation. But let us bear in mind that we are shouldering this burden for the supreme good of the nation, for the future of our common home and for a single and indivisible fatherland for Poles.

Martial law will be lifted just as soon as the reasons for imposing it have come to an end, as soon as law and order prevail in the country and as soon as the conditions for leading a normal life and work have come about.

We soldiers watched with uneasiness and pain but also with vigilant determination how our fatherland was succumbing to the blows of counterrevolutionaries of all kinds. "The time for the difficult test has come," siad Gen W. Jaruzelski. "We must face this test and prove that we are worthy of Poland." We are called upon to defend the country, its peaceful development, and to ensure the welfare of the working people. At a time when the fate of Poland is in the balance and when enemies have raised their hands against it, we stand steadfastly as one man in defense of law and order and social calm in order to give a resolute rebuff to all those who are striking out against socialism and the Polish raison d'etre. We are acting on the basis of constitutional powers, of the nation's mandate, and of the trust and hope it places in us. We are coming forward in defense of the vital interests of the working people and of the whole community. We are defending the interests and safety of all citizens and their families. We are standing up in defense of our socialist achievements and of our nation's future. We are standing up in defense of socialism in the same way as in the defense of the independence of Poland, with the deep conviction that our activities serve the raison d'etre of the nation and the salvation of our socialist fatherland.

Need for National Conciliation

AU221644 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Jerzy Rulicz article: "We Need Conciliation"]

[Text] If things had continued the way they were going then a situation would have arisen in which the nation's self-annihilation would have become inevitable. The economy decline went hand in hand with increased tension and growing intolerance. The man in the street, exhausted by daily hardships, lived under a ever stronger pressure of a developing psychosis of confrontation, which was no doubt worse than anything else for the working people and for mothers because it killed hope.

A vision of fratricidal strife was being conjured up all the time. It was drawn on walls and posters and presented in a flood of illegal publications. Solidarity leaders openly announced a civil war. The Sejm ceased to be reckoned with, and the government was openly flouted. Its speedy end was announced. There was no lack of information about the formation of a shadow cabinet whose top posts were assigned to the most ferocious enemies of socialism. A landscape dotted with gallows was conjured up for party members, whose families daily received threats. Fascism was rearing its head in the streets and terror squads, which were being rapidly expanded, were its heralds. It is unnecessary to explain the genealogy of these organizations. Similar squads wearing black shirts paved the road for Mussolini's rise to power.

No wonder that criminal elements received a new lease on life under such circumstances. Citizens' security was threatened, and this security is closely tied to the security of the state, which has tottered quite distinctly in the past few weeks. Delaying the decision to restore peace and to avoid confrontation imposed a historic responsibility on the leaders of our state. Delay was no longer possible. Socialist renewal was impossible under such conditions.

Appeals for confrontation and for fraternal bloodshed went hand in hand with increasingly stronger and expansive preparations. We know what Jurczyk said in Trzebiatowo and then in Lublin that Solidarity must take up the struggle "even at the price of victims." We know that Solidarity leaders firmly announced in Radom that confrontation was coming. At that time Walesa said: "Confrontation is inevitable and will come. It is necessary to make it clear to the people that we cannot avoid confrontation." Bujak advocated: "Let us prepare Solidarity for a general strike and then find a good reason that will work." And they were looking for such a reason and preparing a large-scale provocation. A pretext was within their reach. Rallies in large cities were planned for 17 December and, at the same time, actions to occupy state administrative buildings were intensified. A referendum whose result was known in advance was being prepared. The power apparatus was to be overthrown, but the Sejm was to be made helpless before that. It was supposed to pass -- before a new Sejm was elected -- only the resolutions approved by Solidarity. In factories, attacks against the party were intensified and preparations for a civil war were promoted. The government economic reform was to be blocked. At the same time, new political parties were being set up. Counterrevolution was entering its decisive phase, threatening socialism and the state's sovereignty and creating a direct danger to the people's biological existence. A disarray followed as well as general demoralization intensified by the actions of the forces hostile to socialism and using the shield of Solidarity. The Polish people were being torn apart and their ability to overcome the basic defects of social life was being weakened.

Today we have the last, the only, chance. If we do not take it, a catastrophe will be inevitable. Today we must have unity, regardless of ideological views and confessions. The interest of the state is above everything. Those guilty of crimes against the people must be punished. The erring ones must be converted and forgiven. We must have national conciliation. Only on such a basis is it possible to recover the sincere patriotic agreement on all sociopolitical forces. And finally, it is necessary to have trust in those who have assumed the great burden of responsibility and to back them up with civic activities. Even yesterday the country -- factories, administrative buildings and higher schools -- was occupied by the forces that held aloft the banner of renewal, which was false renewal and one threatening the country.

These forces, also backed by foreign centers, occupied the country and paralyzed government activities. Today we can speak of the country's liberation. An opportunity to return to the road of socialist renewal is being created. This will be possible if we prevent a fratricidal struggle and confrontation. We need above all peace and security for citizens. The restrictions imposed by the state of emergency serve mainly that purpose, and this is why we should understand that what has happened was necessary and the only way to avoid the worst. Will we succeed in the end? Everything depends on us Poles, on our ability to understand the gravity of the situation and on the extent to which we cope with the temporary rigors which are so necessary.

ADN: URBAN DENIES LARGE-SCALE KILLINGS

LD220922 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0854 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Dec (ADN) -- The situation in the People's Republic of Poland is calming down, said government spokesman Jerzy Urban yesterday evening in Warsaw speaking to the international press. Urban and Foreign Ministry representatives rejected false Western reports about an allegedly large number of dead. Apart from the seven provocateurs in the Wujek mine, there have been no others killed. Some Western publications were informed of the Foreign Ministry's displeasure in this respect.

The government spokesman went on to say that 5,000 persons are interned at present.

'AUTHORITATIVE' SOURCES SAY WALESA WELL

AU221952 Rome ANSA in English 1925 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Vatican City, 22 Dec (ANSA) -- Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's independent trade-union, Solidarity, is well and not in jail, authoritative Vatican sources said today, denying reports in recent days that he had been taken ill or suffered a heart attack.

The sources said that Walesa is in fact being treated particularly well by the leaders of Poland's new military regime in the hope that he will negotiate with them, but the sources also admitted that they had no up-to-date information on this point.

Vatican watchers pointed out that "with commotion," by making an explicit reference to Walesa today and recalling his meeting with him at the Vatican on January 15, Polish-born Pope John Paul II was also signalling the particular attention with which the Vatican is following the labor leader's personal fate.

In other developments, reliable sources said that Polish Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary of the Polish Episcopal Conference, will leave for home tomorrow if nothing unexpected intervenes.

REGIONAL PAPER REPORTS ON JACEK KURON

PM181201 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 18 Dec 81 pp 1, 24

[Robin Gedye report: "7 Dead, 400 Hurt in Polish Riots"]

[Excerpt] An article in MONITOR DOLNOSLASKI [Lower Silesia MONITOR), a martial law publication, said that Jacek Kuron, a leading dissident, although not a member of the Solidarity leadership, attended meetings of the Solidarity National Commission in Radom and Gdansk.

The article stated, Kuron, a founder-member of KOR, the dissident movement disbanded earlier this year at the Gdansk meeting last Saturday, "put forward a detailed programme for seizing state power by the leaders of Solidarity."

This plan was supported by other activists, it was claimed.

The commission approved the plan by a big majority, the publication said. The plan contained details over every move to be made, including the appointment of a provisional government, to be called temporarily the social council of national economy.

A list of 24 members was made, and according to some reports Stefan Kurowski, another dissident, was to have been premier. The report adds that when the vote on this plan was taken, Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, voted neither for it nor against but merely filled his pipe.

FRG REPORTEDLY OPPOSES IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS

NC221734 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Bonn, 22 Dec (AFP) -- The West German Government opposes the imposition of sanctions against the military government of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in Poland at the present time, informed sources here said today.

The sources said that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, who stopped in Bonn yesterday, had conveyed to West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher a list of possible economic sanctions which could be collectively imposed against Poland by the Atlantic alliance.

The proposed sanctions reportedly included suspension of all Western financial aid to Poland, adjournment of review of Poland's candidacy for the International Monetary Fund and a requirement that all food aid to Poland be conveyed only through international organizations, mainly the Red Cross.

Informed sources said the Bonn government considered this list of sanctions untimely, since the situation in Poland, where martial law was imposed ten days ago, remains confused with only fragmentary information available.

Public discussion of possible sanctions was considered "premature" and "detrimental" by Bonn, the sources said. The government maintaining it has yet to be proven that Gen Jaruzelski is but a "puppet" manipulated by the Soviets.

The West German point of view is rather that Moscow must at all costs be prevented from being given a reason for a direct intervention in Poland, which would risk seriously destabilizing the situation in Europe.

BISHOP OF WARSAW, POPE JOHN PAUL HAVE TALKS

NC221804 Paris AFP in English 1759 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Vatican City, 22 Dec (AFP) -- Bronislav Dabrowski, auxiliary bishop of Warsaw and secretary of the Polish Episcopal Conference, held talks here today with Pope John Paul II and other church leaders.

Bishop Dabrowski, who arrived from Poland last night, breakfasted with the pontiff and they continued their talks for more than an hour.

Bishop Dabrowski, a longtime close associate of the late Polish Primate Cardinal Wyszynski, also held talks with Vatican Secretary of State Agostino Caseroli and other Vatican figures.

However, a Vatican spokesman was unable to say whether telephone contact had been reestablished between the Vatican and Warsaw. What was important, he said, was that personal contact had been resumed -- on the one hand by special Papal Envoy Luigi Poggi who went to Warsaw last Saturday, and in the Vatican by Bishop Dabrowski.

AFP: SOLIDARITY LEADERS DEPORTED TO USSR

OW231259 Hong Kong AFP in English 1250 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Place not given, 23 Dec (AFP) -- Numerous leaders of the Polish free trade union Solidarity in the three main Gulf of Gdansk towns have been deported to the Soviet Union, a Polish Catholic Church official reported in Sweden today.

The official, who did not want his name used, arrived in the southern Swedish port of Ystad aboard the Polish ferryboat Wawel.

He told Swedish radio that the deportations were ordered to prevent the Solidarity officials meeting other Poles detained in camps in the Gdansk region.

Reports reaching the West several days ago said that several thousand arrested Poles had been flown to the Soviet Union. Several French intellectuals just back from Poland have talked about "missing" people who it was feared had been deported either to the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia.

In Paris, the Polish Embassy denied reports that Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor of the Solidarity weekly and a leading Catholic, had died after being arrested last week. He was also editor of a Catholic monthly. News of his death had been widely rumoured in Warsaw in the last few days.

An embassy spokesman said that he did not even know whether Mr Mazowiecki had even been arrested.

In Paris Zbigniew Kowalewski, a member of the Solidarity presidium, said that workers in a synthetic fibre factory at Gorzow, near Poznan, were threatening to blow up the massive vats and destroy the whole plant.

He told the French socialist daily newspaper LE MATIN that this was just one example to show that resistance in Poland to the state of siege had not been broken.

He said that a vast "active strike" move had been planned, before the state of siege, to take place at the end of December in the Lodz and Ursus regions, among others.

The move was aimed at an "economic reform", based on more private ownership as sought by Solidarity and most workers to "free society from the economic monopoly run by the state and party apparatus".

In Moscow, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper PRAVDA claimed that despite growing normalisation in Poland, Solidarity was still dangerous. It admitted that calm had not returned to the whole country and there was still tension.

It said "Solidarity even so remains a danger which justifies the state of siege."

The weekly GAZETA LITERAYA attacked the "lies in the Western press", and denied that Soviet troops were massed on the Polish frontier. It said that the situations in Poland and Chile were not comparable because "in Poland the army is defending socialism and in Chile it is trying to destroy it."

In Bonn, sources close to West German intelligence said that a certain number of Polish Army conscripts were being given December 25-26 Christmas leave. "The situation seems to be more relaxed", a reliable source told AFP.

"It is impossible to say how long this detente will last. In any case, we have seen any signs of any Soviet troop movements either in Poland or on it borders," the source said.

In Moscow, the Soviet Red Army organ RED STAR reported that Marshal Viktor Kulikov, supreme commander of the Warsaw Pact defence forces, had returned from Poland and was today attending a meeting of senior officers. Marshal Kulikov's presence in Warsaw was reported by several Western sources.

In Stockholm, the Swedish Foreign Ministry said that it had no information to confirm reports that Soviet troops were aiding Polish militia and security units.

CHURCH SEEN AS KEY TO JARUZELSKI STRATEGY

PM221537 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Bernard Margueritte "censored dispatch": "Selective Curfew"]

[Text] Warsaw -- While Poland has been covered by very heavy snowfalls, there are still some people who, to use the official expression, "have not yet fully understood the nature of the state of war."

In Warsaw itself the radio announced Saturday evening that "the majority of enterprises were working normally," which means that the same is not true everywhere. But the geography of the difficulties being encountered by the government is provided by the news of the curfew timetable: In 43 voivodships it has been changed to 2300 through 0500 hours instead of 2300 through 0600. It remains as it was in Lublin, Rzeszow, Elblag, Katowice, Wroclaw and Szczecin Voivodships and has even been extended to 2000 through 0600 hours in Gdansk Voivodship. It is there that the problems are most difficult. The Gdansk shipyard workers have also had their "leave" extended until after the Christmas vacation. The same applies in several other enterprises. Specifically, according to the local press, in Szczecin.

Friday evening and Saturday afternoon the funeral and burial of ZYCIE WARSZAWY journalist Jerzy Zelenski, who committed suicide Monday, produced emotional scenes.

However, life goes on and the government anxiously wants to find a political solution, amid this dramatic situation. When he launched his operation, General Jaruzelski had three aims:

1 -- To avoid an even worse solution for the country, which is easy to imagine. He also knew -- and has declared -- that the announcement of a "state of war" would not help to resolve the problems.

TRYBUNA LUDU wrote Saturday, under the significant headline "Entente Despite Everything": "Obviously every restriction, even shortlived, of civil rights is quite simply an evil. Nobody pretends that it is otherwise, but nobody who realistically and objectively understands the evolution of political events over the past 15 months can doubt that it is on the one hand a necessary evil, and at the same time the lesser evil."

2 -- To regain control of the situation: The government reached the conclusion that in Poland's geopolitical conditions an advance toward reforms cannot take place in a situation in which the impetus for freedom and democratization is accompanied by anarchy and chaos. The authorities therefore had to reassert their position.

3 -- To pursue reforms and to aim at some kind of national understanding: General Jaruzelski's aim was still -- and is still -- to continue in a stabilized situation, and from a position of strength, the democratic reforms begun in August 1980. The appointment of Mr Rakowski -- known for his moderate opinions -- as the head of a new socio-political committee of the Council of Ministers confirms this approach.

Unfortunately, the realization of this scenario, which requires the participation of the nonpolitical elements in Solidarity and above all of the church, has been made extremely difficult by the tragic death of seven miners in Silesia.

A source close to the new government told me about its confusion in this situation: "We cannot retreat, but if the resistance persists what can we do? If we are obliged to take vigorous measures to erdicate it, we risk playing into the hands of the extremist and dogmatic party elements. Their advent in power would then -- and only then -- create a really dramatic situation. It would then be a matter of returning not to the pre-August 1980 situation but to a much earlier situation."

So General Jaruzelski can depend only on the church to ensure his position, to resume the dialogue and to bar the way to the extremists who hope to profit from the situation. But particularly when blood is shed, the church is, from the moral viewpoint, in a difficult position for when it comes to pursuing the dialogue. It cannot permit itself to cut itself off from the population. Nevertheless, the church understands the problems, issues a political verdict and refuses to pursue a worst-case policy.

Instead of a communique of the Central Council of Bishops, which is fairly "hardline" -- a communique which has been dropped for the time being -- a letter from the primate was read out in chuches Sunday, expressing compassion for families affected by the state of war and issuing the following appeal: "Stay calm; do not bring an even greater disaster down on the country. Only self-control and curbed anger can now save the nation and the church which works in this nation."

The arrival in Warsaw Sunday of John Paul II's envoy Mr Poggi provides another opportunity for resuming the dialogue.

The chances of success of General Jaruzelski's scenario also depend on the situation throughout the socialist camp. In this connection, it seems that the general, who was unable to visit Moscow after all, sent a lengthy and very cordial letter to the Kremlin leader. Indeed, it is clear that the stronger Mr Brezhnev's position in Moscow, particulary with respect to the generals and "hardliners" in the CPSU, the greater Poland's chances of extricating itself from its dramatic straits by means of dialogue and compromise.

TV SAID BROADCASTING 0900 GMT NEWSCAST

NC211658 Paris AFP in English 1650 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Copenhagen, 21 Dec (AFP) -- Polish television today initiated a news program expected to be transmitted daily at the same hour (ed: 0900 GMT), according to Danish television officials monitoring Polish telecasts on the Baltic Island of Bornholm.

The inaugural program mostly repeated news given yesterday. It began with a speaker in military uniform, followed by interviews with civilians in factories and rural districts.

After the interviews, which took about 15 minutes, a feature film on boy scouts was shown, and after that, a short test pattern and children's cartoons.

From Bornholm, the Polish telecast was transmitted to Copenhagen for insertion into the Eurovision network.

RADIO CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON WARSAW SITUATION

AU221230 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1124 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Teletype dispatch by Warsaw correspondent Ludwig Tamm, described as having been "censored"]

[Text] Heavy snowfall has further aggravated life in Poland. Railroad and streetcar traffic are additionally hampered. Public transportation in Warsaw is operating normally on the whole. The rush of bus and streetcar passengers is stronger than in the past, since for 1 week now no gasoline has been sold to private citizens. One single filling station is open for foreigners in Warsaw; there one can get 20 liters of gasoline after a long wait.

It cannot be established what the situation looks like outside of Warsaw, because there are no communications of any kind. Travel has also virtually ceased, because every citizen requires a permit for leaving his place of residence. Yesterday's church services were marked by a low-spirited and sad silence. In most cases there were no sermons. Only the pope's appeal was read, as well as -- instead of a statement by the Main Council of the Episcopate -- a short appeal by Primate Glemp not to raise a hateful hand against one's neighbor.

As emerges from official reports, the wave of arrests is continuing. In the news, reports on donations from the USSR and the GDR are dominating. In Warsaw numerous trucks from these countries arrived last weekend. They were carrying foodstuffs which, as was declared, were mainly intended for children. GDR trucks carried slogans in Polish such as "Friendship" or "Berlin, the capital of the GDR, greets Warsaw."

The only easing of martial law regulations to date: Persons older than 60 years are permitted to travel over the holidays and need not register with the local police of the place where they are staying, until 28 December.

GDANSK STRIKES, SZCZECIN SHIPYARD OCCUPATION

LD222100 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Excerpt] The state-controlled Warsaw Radio reported today that the situation has improved in Gdansk on the Baltic. Yesterday the radio claimed that no strikes were in progress in the Gdansk area, but reports we have received today on the situation in Poland give a somewhat different picture.

The nightly curfew in Poland was extended last Friday in Gdansk, to operate from 2000. Today, Warsaw Radio reported that the curfew had been shortened to operate between 2200 and 0600 -- the same period as in most Polish regions -- supposedly because the situation in Gdansk has improved. However, our reporter Tore Rundgren, who is on board the Polish ferry "Wawel' was today able to confirm that the shipyards on the Baltic coast continue to be an important resistance center. Tore Rundgren reported that strikes and occupations continue in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin as well as in other places. At the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, 250 workers have barricaded themselves in a [word indistinct] gas store. They have threatened to blow up the plant if the police try to enter, Tore Rundgren reported. He reported further that a local paper in Szczecin has published a communique from the shipyard management there urging the workers to go to the main office tomorrow to obtain new work permits as those who do not obey the exhortation will be dismissed and will not receive food ration tickets. The occupation of the Szczecin shipyard is confirmed by Tore Rundgren's reports.

RADIO HAM REPORTS 'RUSSIANS' ON STREETS

PM231157 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 17 Dec 81 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Radio Ham: Russians in the Streets"]

[Text] Amsterdam, 17 Dec -- This morning a Polish radio ham reported in a clandestine transmission that Polish and Russian soldiers are together patrolling roads in Poland. Polish trade union leader Lech Walesa is being held in the village [plaatsje] of (Kuznica), said the Polish ham, who uses the call sign HFOPOL.

The transmission was received by a radio ham in Amsterdam, who has had contact with a number of Polish hams since Sunday. The number of radio contacts which have been possible have decreased in the last few days. Since yesterday HFOPOL is the only one. HFOPOL transmits in morse code at a power of around 3.9 kilowatts.

The Pole, whose reports cannot be verified in any way, also said that one of his two helpers has been picked up. He reported shooting and fighting between troops and civilians who mount attacks on military patrols. He said this morning that the police are mostly remaining in barracks.

DPA: THREE LARGE INTERNMENT CAMPS SET UP

LD191428 Hamburg DPA in German 1143 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Exceprt] Bonn, 19 Dec (DPA) -- According to information in possession of the Coordinating Committee of the "Solidarity with Solidarnosc" initiative, three large internment camps for people arrested in Poland by the military regime have been set up near Warsaw, Szczecin and on Hela Peninsula. Representatives of the committee, including members of the Solidarity trade union, told a news conference in Bonn today that the arrested persons in the Warsaw and Szczecin camps are housed in unheated tents. On Hela Peninsula summer houses have been seized for this purpose.

According to the Polish historian Prof Julius Streynowski, the 94-year old scientist Professor Lipinski, member of the Warsaw Academy of Sciences, in interned on Hela Peninsula. According to his account the Polish Army has so far acted with "relative considerable restraint," in contrast with the behavior of the special units which come under the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs and the militia.

PRIESTS REPORTED ARRESTED; OTHERS ON TRIAL

LD231230 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 23 Dec 81

[Text] According to information on Polish Radio some 60 people have been brought to trial in many towns in Poland, most of them accused of having organized strikes. Three are charged with having attacked the military headquarters in Gdansk with petrol bombs; others are charged with having stored explosives or planned bomb attacks.

At least 50 or so priests have been arrested in Poland, according to reports from a Norwegian organizer of aid consignments, who also says that strikes are in progress in at least 400 workplaces in Poland.

AVIATION COMMUNICATIONS LINK RESTORED

PM231129 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 23 Dec 81 pp 1, 18

[Robin Geyde report: "Curfew Lifted for One Night"]

[Excerpt] Poland restored its link with the world's largest aviation communications network, Societe Internationale de Telecommunication Aeronotique, yesterday after severing it the day martial law was declared.

An official of the organisation in Copenhagen said: "There was no warning. We just suddenly noticed that the circuit was restored, and we resumed traffic."

CEAUSESCU'S NETHERLANDS TV INTERVIEW PUBLISHED

AU211234 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Dec 81 p 1

[Interview given by President Nicolae Ceausescu for the Netherlands' NOS Broadcasting Corporation on 21 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Question: Mr President, how do you assess the current atmosphere between East and West and what are your expectations concerning the results of USSR-U.S. negotiations on limiting armaments, primarily nuclear?

We would also like tyou to tell us your opinion on the latest proposals of Mr Brezhnev and Mr Reagan.

Answer: A particularly grave situation has been created in international life, especially in Europe, as a result of the accentuation of the arms race and the decision to deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles and to develop the existing ones. That has brought about great international tension, particularly between the two big powers.

We believe it is necessary to act resolutely to halt the arms race and the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe.

In this respect, we hail the resumption of negotiations between the USSR and the United States and we hope that both sides will work to reach agreements on preventing the deployment of new missiles and opening up the road for reducing and eliminating existing missiles and, generally speaking, for cutting down on armaments in Europe.

Although the negotiations have started in an atmosphere of tension and distrust, we believe that they could conclude with positive results. In this respect, I believe that both President Brezhnev's and President Reagan's proposals constitute a basis for talks, although there are very big differences between them. However, both should be taken into consideration at the negotiations and steps should be taken to arrive at an acceptable understanding.

Question: Your Excellency, you are known as a politician with very personal opinions about international issues. For instance, you have made the important proposal of creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe. How can your ideas be concretely implemented?

Answer: Indeed, Romania advocates the creation of nuclear-free zones in Europe, within the framework of or as a step toward the overall denuclearization of the continent.

Romania has repeatedly suggested the creation of a nuclear-free area in the Balkans and I believe that, in the current circumstances, it is possible to achieve positive steps both in the Balkans and other areas of Europe.

Question: In your opinion, what can small countries do to influence negotiations between East and West, and what countries do you particularly have in mind?

Answer: Small and medium-sized countries, particularly European countries, are directly interested in resuming the policy of detente, halting the arms race and proceeding to overall disarmament, primarily nuclear.

In this respect, I deem it necessary for European countries to assume greater responsibility and to directly participate in negotiations concerning Europe, both on nuclear armaments and on disarmament and strengthening trust. Since the nuclear weapons concentrated in Europe are jeopardizing the life of European peoples, the Europeans are dutybound to act tc bring about disarmament, remove nuclear armaments and secure their future and a Europe of peaceful cooperation based on equality, respect for independence and noninterference in domestic affairs of other countries.

Question: Mr President, how in your opinion can Romania and the Netherlands, as European countries, contribute to attaining disarmament, detente, peace and progress in the world?

Answer: As European countries, Romania and the Netherlands are cooperating with good results both bilaterally and internationally. I believe and am convinced that our countries will cooperate more actively, along with other countries, to attain the common goals of detente, peace, socioeconomic progress and independence.

Question: Mr President, various opinions on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europea have been heard lately. What is your opinion on this subject?

Answer: Indeed, various statements on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe have been made lately. I believe that such a possibility does indeed exist, since the medium-range missiles that are planned to be deployed and developed in Europe cannot hit the United States, for example. Hence, it would appear that some people are seriously considering solving international competition at Europe's expense. Therefore, the European peoples should resolutely act to halt the deployment of medium-range missiles and the development of existing ones and to bring about the withdrawal and complete elimination of all nuclear arms from Europe.

Question: Mr President, what in your opinion are the probabilities of a future nuclear war and how can it be prevented?

Answer: The danger of a nuclear war is very great and keeps growing the more weapons there are stockpiled. However, a nuclear war and, generally speaking, a new world war can be prevented. This requires the resolute action of all peoples and governments to put an end to the arms race and to proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear.

Of course, the way to prevent a nuclear war is to ensure nuclear disarmament. As long as the nuclear arms race continues and grows, the danger of a nuclear war and of the destruction of Europe and the entire mankind will remain.

Therefore, in the name of life and the future, we must bring about the destruction of nuclear arms. Only thus can we save mankind from a devastating war.

Question: Are Romania's current economic problems an obstacle to intensifying relations with West European countries?

Answer: Romania is now fulfilling its Seventh 5-Year Plan. We envisage a continuous development of the industrial and agricultural economic activity.

Proceeding from that, we have great potential for expanding economic relations with other states, including West European countries. There are however problems of a general nature which cause certain difficulties. They stem primarily from the economic crisis and froma slow-down in economic activities in various countries, particularly in Western ones, as well as from the very high rate of bank interest which practically rules out the use of loans as a means of developing economic relations.

In this respect, there are indeed a number of difficulties; however, Romania is endeavoring to find solutions to these difficulties, together with Western and other countries. Consequently, we lay particular emphasis on a balanced trade by ensuring the necessary compensation, as we call it, namely exports that correspond to our imports, so as to attain an equal balance and to avoid resorting to loans, which can no longer be accepted and used.

Question: There have been protest actions against the arms race and nuclear weapons in Western countries. The public opinion in the Netherlands and other countries has taken note of the broad mass actions taking place in Romania against the war and for disarmament. Mr President, please tell us to what extent the socialist countries can participate in this movement to determine new actions against disarmament, primarily nuclear.

Answer: Public opinion in Romania is very positively impressed by the great protest actions of the broad masses and public opinion in Western countries and other countries against the arms race and for detente and peace.

But we considered that it is not enough to take note with satisfaction of the actions of other peoples and the Romanian people found it necessary to frankly voice its views and energetically protest war and come out in support of disarmament, nuclear disarmament and peace. This is the explanation for the big manifestations that are taking place in Romania.

Concerning the socialist countries and other countries in Europe and the world, I believe that one way or another the peoples in all European countries are against armaments and for general disarmament, primarily nuclear, and for peace.

We believe that any form of manifestation is good and must be used, but we attach special significance to the action of the broad masses and the peoples, who must resolutely raise their voices and make the governments listen to them.

RCP FORMS COUNTY WORKING PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

AU191020 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Dec (AGERPRES) -- County working people's councils were set up in Romania. They are made up of representatives of industrial units, of constructions and transport, of the financial system and the field of goods circulation, being an expression of the steady development of democracy, of worker self-management. They are meant to ensure better organization and unitary coordination of the activity of the working people's councils in enterprises and institutions, better style and methods of work for a more active participation of the working people in the elaboration and adoption of decisions, in the effective and more efficient running of economic and social activities.

In between the general meetings of the working people, which are the supreme management fora of economic units, the operative activity of the Romanian enterprises is coordinated by the working people's councils. At least 75 per cent of those elected to these councils work directly in production and the chairman of the trade union organization in the respective enterprise is, de jure, vice-chairman of the council. During the council's meetings, its members can ask the managers about the activity carried on in relation to the questions submitted for debate. The decisions are taken through majority vote. The worker structure of the councils materializes a capital principle of self-management, according to which property over the production means entails both profit and responsibility. The fact that the workers are involved in management make them have an enhanced contribution to the improvement of productive activities, contribution which is difficult to be overestimated today when the qualitative growth of the economy and the intensive factors are put in the forefront.

The new bodies, through their representative structure, stand proof of the realistic way in which the RCP conceives the working class' increased role in governing society, in elaborating and implementing the socioeconomic policy. They will meet twice a year or any time necessary. From the very beginning, their activity focuses on questions of cooperation among enterprises, of capitalization of positive experiences, of more judicious utilization of human and material reserves, of strengthened worker responsibility in all working collectives.

BRIEFS

WATER COOPERATION WITH SFRY -- The proceedings of the 24th session of the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Hydro-Technical Commission ended in Bucharest today. During the session, the two sides examined joint activities carried out by the water management bodies in Romania and Yugoslavia to protect border waters from flooding and to preserve their quality. The sides also worked out measures to develop bilateral cooperation in the hydro-technical field in the coming years. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 81 AU]

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON POLAND CRISIS EVENTS

Envoy Sees Czyrek 19 Dec

LD192240 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] In Warsaw, the Yugoslav ambassador, Muhidin Begic, had talks with Jozef Czyrek, secretary and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish foreign minister, about the situation in Poland and the activity of the party, the military council and other state organs following the introduction of martial law. International relations were also discussed in the course of the talks.

Sundic Commentary

LD211756 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Everything that has in recent days been written and said about the situation in Poland, or, to be more precise, about the introduction of martial law, has been intended to illuminate the decision announced by General Jaruzelski at dawn on 13 December. There have been no profound analyses about the background of the Polish crisis, that is to say about the reasons which preceded the introduction of martial law, with the exception of chronological reminders of the rather more important events which occurred during the past few months. Also, too much has been written and said about the actors of the Polish events, about the changes and mutations in the Polish state and party leadership, about agreement and discord in the Solidarity trade unions and about the negotiations between the trade union leaders and the representatives of the party and the government. A fair amount of light has been shed also on the role of the church with special emphasis on its stand during the war when virtually all the Poles were in the common front against fascism.

There is a justification for this, for lack of a better word, superficial, portrayal of the Polish reality. The Poles themselves in an overriding way have been concerned about a way to halt the disturbances rather than about studying the reasons which led to them. This was especially insisted on by the authorized representatives of the PZPR and government while the leaders of the Solidarity trade union insisted on a reexamination of the Polish way to socialism, in which context they primarily bore in mind the party responsibility for everything that was not good during the postwar development of Poland. However, the party was not willing to undertake radical changes. In fact, it was fearful of any reexamination of its role of defending also the existing, one could say transplanted, model while the Solidarity trade union moved from action to action and from strike to strike. Solidarity itself, however, failed to offer a program to rally all the progressive forces of the country. Immediately prior to the introduction of martial law there occurred a split in the leadership and Lech Walesa himself was in the minority.

In the period between the outbreak of workers' unrest and the introduction of martial law, the three main forces of Polish society -- the party, the trade unions and the church -- made their own calculations. The party counted on a split in the leadership of the trade unions, while the church did not wish to give up its role of peacemaker although in fact it was on the side of Solidarity all the time, but not from self-management and even less from socialist positions. So the crisis in Poland grew into a power struggle among the main actors and into a rivalry of military blocs. In this chaos of general dissatisfaction, unrest and hunger Poland found itself on the edge of collapse. One of the three evils was inevitable: either civil war, foreign intervention or introduction of martial law. The army, relying on its strength and Warsaw Pact allies, decided for this latter course and coupled it with the promise that this did not mean the end of democracy and socialist renewal. However, the introduction of martial law signified the admission that the PZPR was unable to impose itself as the leading force of society.

The following is also essential for an illumination of the Polish crisis. Whatever was done in Poland during the postwar years did not have the stamp of specific Polish characteristics, at least not always.

But the defense of a united model and the demands pulling the other way, and the insistence of the church on being the arbiter in all social ferment resulted in weakening the role of the PZPR in ruling the country. In so doing, Poland also became an object of other people's concern which made it difficult for it to resolve its problems in peace and which accelerated the move towards an undesired direction, leaving both the Poles and the world without the answer as to what will happen tomorrow.

The crisis is deep-seated and very dangerous. If at the present time the Poles are to be wished anything, it is the quickest possible way out of the present situation. However when and if this is accomplished, without any outside meddling, the progressive forces of Polish society will have to renew the dialogue: not the dialogue about the working class but the dialogue with it. This is the way to preserve all the values of Polish society. Free and independent Poland alone, and this also means socialist Poland, can grapple with the troubles which it is experiencing and come out of it with as few scars as possible.

BORBA Analyzes Martial Law

AU221322 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 81 p 6

[Bogdan Decermic commentary: "Poland at Crossroads"]

[Text] The latest chapter of Poland's history, marked by military rule and martial law in the country, has captured the maximum attention of the world public and international community. This act alone -- all power in the hands of the military -- has caused various reaction in the world and, depending on the political and ideological geography, these reactions range from approval to opposition or refusal to directly adopt a clear attitude; that is, to abstaining from adopting such an attitude.

In his dramatic speech in which he paraphrased that classic slogan "The Fatherland Is in Danger," General Jaruzelski himself said that it was with a "heavy heart" that he proclaimed martial law. What is certainly decisive in this connection is how the Polish workers class and all the people of the country will react. For this reason there is still no foreseeable answer to the question in everyone's mind: What will be the outcome of all that, what path will the further development in Poland follow and what will its consequences be?

The international public is very nearly unanimous in the opinion that in this situation the most important thing is to prevent any foreign interference and to let the Poles themselves emerge from the crisis in their own way and with their own forces, a crisis which, in Jaruzelski's appraisal, has reached the very edge of a national catastrophe. However, the world is very deeply interested in stabilizing the situation in Poland because it is concerned over the possible complications that could open a new and dangerous hotbed of crisis in Europe and the world, involving consequences that would further undermine an already barely patched-up and maintained process of detente and the very stability, security and peace on the continent and in the world. Since what is primarily involved in Poland are the position of the workers class and a deep crisis of the existing socialist system, the solution will have strategic and far-reaching consequences primarily for the development of socialism on democratic foundations in Poland itself but, at the same time, also for the development of socialism in the broadest sense.

Dilemmas

If the outcome -- no matter how fateful it may be -- is uncertain at present, it is possible to once again identify the basic social and political trends in Poland recently and especially in the last 16 months, as well as their protagonists. Naturally, this identification may not be a completely reliable key to a final answer, but the answer can be sensed and sought in the predominance of one of the orientations that are being offered to the Polish minds and realities at this time.

None of the real Polish dilemmas has been erased or buried by martial law. As the Polish leaders and Jaruzelski himself are pointing out, no Polish problem can be permanently solved under the conditions of martial law. Martial law has its own strict laws which restrict many basic freedoms.

Today it is no longer possible to deny the fact that what is involved in Poland are the social and political position of the workers class, its struggle for more direct participation in decisionmaking and its aspiration to become a more creative and decisive factor in moving and shaping the democratic processes and reforms of socialism in Poland. The primary struggle is the struggle of the democratic forces within the workers class itself and within the workers' vanguard against a bureaucratically and dogmatically determined model, but not against socialism as such. Naturally, the struggle against the counterrevolution that has raised its head in the general confusion is implied in this connection, but it would be hard to convince anyone that this is the primary struggle; it is a secondary struggle.

The social and political processes in Poland are filled with many contradictions among which, according to some appraisals, two have especially strongly manifested themselves. The first contradiction is that between a spontaneously increased strength of the workers' masses and their inability to become a direct decisive factor, "to take matters into their own hands"; that is, the limited ability for fusing this creative and constructive energy with the fabric of the Polish society to renew and transform it; and, in fact, an insufficient realization of the power of the workers class both in the past and now, as well as its insufficient influence on the course of social life and democratic transformation. The second contradiction is that of the ruling position which the Polish party has nominally retained, but a position that lacks effectiveness and the power to influence the course of events, a position that has been corroded by departures of workers from the PZPR ranks and their lack of trust. Thus the view that General Jaruzelski's action expresses among other things also a lack of confidence in the party which is unable to hold the threads in its own hand is not far from the truth.

The view imposes itself in this connection that the conflict has reached its culmination because none of the parties involved in the dialogue (which, under the Polish conditions, includes also a third powerful participant and partner, the Catholic Church), that is neither the party nor Solidarity, has as yet offered a consistent program of social reforms which would include the main demand of the Polish workers class, the demand that was raised twice in the recent past, in 1956 and in the seventies, and now again for the third time even in a plebiscite-like manner, the demand of the workers class to be able to directly make decisions, to be self-managing in its own Polish way. Precisely that.

This is of enormous importance for further development not only in Poland but also for the very process of socialism in the world and for all progressive forces. For, anticommunists of all colors, especially in the West, are clamoring precisely now and they are waging a fierce campaign promoting the thesis that, you see, socialism has come into conflict with the workers class; that is, that socialism is incompatible with democracy.

Responsibility

However, it is precisely in Poland where exactly the ideals of the socialist and not some other democracy, that is the ideals of socialist democracy as the form of direct power of the workers class, a higher form of any democracy, have found their expression among an enormous majority of the workers class and a majority of democratic and progressive forces, something that must not be mistaken, tendentiously and in an uninformed manner, for the rejection of a form, a system that is burdened by many burdens of the past, in many respects discredited among the workers class and the people, and inefficient.

Those who carry on their shoulders the main responsibility for Poland's future fate and for the course of the announced democratic social reforms and socialism, "a socialism of Polish colors," those who are at the head of the military administration have clearly declared that, under the conditions of martial law, they would not interrupt the dialogue that has been started and that they are in favor of political solutions through agreement.

They have pledged that their goal is to insure that "the proclaimed ideals of socialism become nearer to the Polish people and workers class," and that its substance becomes enriched and woven in the spirit of national traditions.

Under the conditions of martial law, there is a certain lethargy and general fatigue and exhaustion which is characterized by some as a kind of "disintegration of national conscience," that is, under objectively very unfavorable and contradictory conditions. This is a difficult task with an uncertain outcome and some possibly foreseeable as well as unforeseeable consequences.

General Jaruzelski has given assurances and assumed obligations that "there would be no return to the conditions and practice of the period prior to August 1980." It is true that any step "backwards" to dogmatism and the "old ways" would have catastrophic consequences.

The most essential thing in all this is that the further social development and struggle for socialism must be a result of the struggle of the organized workers class of Poland, its vanguard and the Polish people. "The workers class, the PZPR and other democratic, socialist forces of Poland alone are called upon to seek, in a sovereign manner, a way out of the difficult socioeconomic and political crisis by democratic means, through accords and agreements and by implementing the social, economic and political reforms that best correspond to the needs of development of the Polish society," as was pointed out at the session of the Commission for International Relations of the LCY Central Committee Presidium yesterday.

Press on Polish Situation

LD192340 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2109 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG) -- What was feared a week ago is reality today. A deep democratic and progressive process of social and economic reforms and a policy of dialogue, understanding and agreement, in full swing in the country, have been whether one wants it or not, checked and blocked by a military intervention from the inside.

The above is noted by the Yugoslav daily BORBA in its Sunday commentary on the latest developments in Poland. The daily notes that the checked and blocked process was specifically Polish and did not in its development make use of any one or anybody's model.

BORBA writes that the sign of equation is in practice growingly often (?put) between the squaring of accounts with the counterrevolution and the squaring of accounts with an overwhelming majority of the organised part of the working class, which makes extremely dangerous and inflammable the situation in Poland, which already bears the stamp of a historical precedent of establishing military authority in a socialist country.

Explaining the objective of the "state of war" in Poland, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes that Prime Minister General Jaruzelski claimed that Poland had found itself on the verge of chaos, anarchy and all-national catastrophe and that such circumstances necessitated an extremely decisive intervention as an urgent, although temporary, move. The inevitable question of whether the intervention will make the situation simpler or still more tense and complex hovers over the entire undertaking since the very beginning.

POLITIKA recalls that, in his address last Sunday, Jaruzelski particularly called for Polish blood not to be shed. Unfortunately, it has been shed and the tragic fact will inevitably leave its imprint on future events. The dead and wounded in the dramatic events at the Wujek mine and at Gdansk do not only deeply and spontaneously move with their tragic sight, but also strongly warn and lead one to far-reaching mediation on seeking the right way out of the extremely grave Polish crisis.

VJESNIK Sees 'Hope'

AU181404 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 81 p 2

[Zeljko Brihta commentary: "Events in Poland: Hope"]

[Text] Even though everything that has happened during the past period of a little less than a year and half showed that the situation in Poland and in connection with Poland was deteriorating dangerously and moving, according to its own logic although not without a certain external influence, toward a conflict on which not only the fate of democracy and socialism in that country but also the fate of peace and relaxation of tension in Europe and the world depended, it was still assumed only last week that Poland has three alternatives:

A solution based on agreement through the formation of the front for national agreement in which the main forces of the Polish society, that is, the government and the party, the Solidarity trade union and the church would collaborate; a civil war which would be probably followed by foreign intervention; and the assumption of power by the army which is the only force in Poland that is still united and intact and perhaps therefore, acting as Poland's "last reserve," might yet be able to prevent a general national catastrophe of unforeseeable world and international consequences.

On Sunday it became evident that the commander of that army, General Jaruzelski, who is simultaneously also the party leader and premier, chose (according to his own words: forced by events) the third possibility. Declaring that "we aspire neither to a military dictatorship nor to a military putsch," Jaruzelski said that the formation of the Military Council of National Salvation "has closed the road to a confrontation which would have occurred if this were not done."

Since the extraordinary measures can be only temporary, because otherwise they turn into a permanent state of affairs and achieve in any event something contrary to that by which they are explained, the main hope for Poland and thereby also for everything that depends on the developments in Poland continue to be in that first alternative, that is, reconciliation, agreement and unity despite all differences. If this does not happen, then the third possibility also might yet turn into the second possibility which would be the worst for Poland, for socialism and for peace in general.

Those world politicians who are saying that the power of the army -- no matter to what extent, considered isolated and for itself, it may be an evil for the country on which it had to be imposed -- may also be the "last attempt to reconcile the conflicting forces" in that country, probably have this in mind. If this attempt succeeded and enabled Poland to return to its socialist renewal and find its own solutions by democratic means and the Poles to direct their own destiny, then it would find its own justification also.

Any other solution would not be a solution but would lead to even great complications. This means that now everything in Poland and many things outside Poland depend on the question whether the Polish people, the Polish workers class and those who are leading them will be able on their own to find a way out of the accumulated difficulties that are purely an internal affair of Poland and thereby -- and only thereby -- prevent the present crisis from turning into a bloody settling of accounts. It is up to the Poles alone to accomplish that and no one else can help them; anyone else could only hinder them.

As early as 10 days ago, on 3 December, in his speech to the Katowice miners, General Jaruzelski warned: "The destiny of Poland can only be shaped by Polish hands. No one will do that apart from us." If the army now tried to stop the country on the edge of the abyss in order to prevent bloodshed in which these forces themselves would perish, the country can turn away from that abyss only if its destiny is shaped by all of its hands in peace and by democratic means.

This means that what is now happening in Poland can only benefit that country and socialism in it if it enables the country to become socially, politically and economically settled and stabilized in every respect; and settled not by force or coercion -- because an enforced "peace" is only temporary and relative -- and not "from above" or even from outside but "from below" and from within. Accordingly, the temporary state of emergency should be followed by a normal situation of radical economic and social reforms.

Therefore, what is now proclaimed in Poland as a necessary evil can be explained by the past and present difficulties and contradictions (including those from the period prior to August 1980) but it can only be justified if it is transformed into a necessary good for the future; and at that not only good for some distant future generations but also for the present generations which, despite all difficulties, have already demonstrated that they want a renewed democratic and socialist Poland. These forces deserve to be supported but they can fulfill their task only by themselves alone.

As the federal secretariat for foreign affairs says in its statement among other things, the Polish people, the Polish workers class and the PZPR should muster their inner strength to find a way out of the present situation by democratic means of socialist renewal and agreements and through economic and social reforms.

An outside observer can only sincerely wish them success in this task for the good of Poland, for the good of socialism and for the good of all other fundamental and greatest values of contemporary mankind.

Pope's Message Reported 22 Dec

LD221918 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 22 Dec 81

[Text] Rome, 22 Dec (TANJUG) -- Grave threats still loom over world peace in spite of the efforts made in recent time by millions of men, stated Pope John Paul the second in a message for the world peace day, to be celebrated by the Roman Catholic Church on January 1 next year. Stressing that peace is the world's main concern at present, the Pope called for intensifying initiatives at all levels towards negotiating and renewing detente.

The recent activity of the Vatican City State in support of peace and disarmament has been intensive. The pope sent messages to Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev prior to the opening of the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles and has recently sent envoys to Moscow, Washington, London, Paris and the United Nations.

Although dated four days before the introduction of the state of emergency in Poland, the pope's message also fits into the framework of the Polish developments. Two days ago the pope spoke for the first time of the "dead, wounded and missing" in Poland.

Well-informed circles report that the pope's envoy Archbishop Luigi Poggi, who arrived in Warsaw on Sunday evening, carries his personal message to General Jaruzelski. Although the contents of the message is still largely unknown it is believed to set out the church's basic stands on the need for seeking solution through dialogue and agreement with [words indistinct] the chief (?components) of Polish society.

Archbishop Poggi has already met with Polish Primate Jozef Glemp, the archbishop of Warsaw, while Glemp's envoy, Secretary of the Polish Bishops Conference Bronislaw Dabrowski, arrived in Rome yesterday evening and was at once received by the pope.

TANJUG SPECULATES ON AFTERMATH OF SHEHU SUICIDE

LD212034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- Official Tirana still has not explained the circumstances of Albanian Council of Ministers Chairman Mehmet Shehu's "suicide at the moment of a nervous crisis."

After the first statement of the Albanian state-party leadership broadcast by Radio Tirana twelve hours after Shehu's "suicide", there has been no further information on the event which took place "at dawn of December 18".

Neither in Radio Tirana's broadcasts, which have also included the usual music programs, nor in the Albanian press, has there been any information which would indicate that "Albania's second personality" has disappeared from the political life of the country.

In addition to the above, some Western sources in Tirana have reported that no commemorations have been held in the country, flags have not been lowered to half-mast, nor have there been opened anywhere the books of mourning -- all of which are customary when an important state personality passes away.

In this context, the same sources report that Shehu's "suicide" could be the first element of the struggle for succession in the state which is the last bastion of the Stalinist orthodoxy.

Mehmet Shehu made his last official public appearance on December 16 when he received an economic delegation of Romania.

At the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Labour Party early last month Shehu delivered his "second speech". It has been noted, however, that Shehu did not attend the celebration marking the anniversary of Albania's liberation on November 28.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE VIEWS AMENDMENTS TO LCY STATUTE

AU212129 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 81

[Text] The session of the LCY Central Committee convened for 23 December will discuss a report of the party commission which is preparing draft amendments and supplements to the LCY statute for the 12th LCY Congress. In the preliminary talks special attention was devoted to the place and role of the League of Communists in the political system because it was assessed that a direct causal link exists between the current difficulties in the socioeconomic and political life of the country and social practice. Here is a report by Zivojin Jerotijevic:

Proceeding from this undoubtedly very important assessment, members of the LCY Central Committee Commission indicated the basic directions of improving the statute in the part dealing with strengthening the leading ideopolitical role of the League of Communists in the political system. The aim is to ensure a constant and organized influence by the party on the substance of self-managing decisions which, as has been shown, do not always or sufficiently respect the programmatic orientations and the policy of the League of Communists. The unanimous conviction is that the further strengthening of the delegate system is the primary task and this also calls for certain changes in the statute. What is involved is primarily a more precise definition and realization of the current solutions.

The activity of the League of Communists in the socialist alliance is one of the problems which has been stressed as very topical in the past discussions. It was noted that the League of Communists frequently behaves toward this organization as well as toward other sociopolitical organizations as though they were a transmission belt and not factors through which democratic communication and cooperation with the working people and citizens is established. Hence also the need to clearly regulate in the statute the forms and manner of activity of the League of Communists in these organizations by means of delegations and representatives of the party organs.

It is assessed that the present statutory provisions generally include all forms of delegating, although a restrictive approach would be more suitable, that is that the League of Communists should have its delegations and delegates only in the assemblies of the socio-political communities, in the assemblies of local communities, the social councils, in the organs and bodies of the socialist alliance and possibly in some other sociopolitical organizations.

For the time being, for instance, the problem of participation of delegates and delegations of the Central Committee and its Presidium in various institutions of the federal political system have been solved rather well. However, it has been noticed that the necessary step forward has not been made in the method of work, a step which would enable the delegations and delegates to take problems from the grassroots of delegates and demand clear positions on these problems from the organs and organizations of the LCY.

Judging by the way things stand now, it appears that the delegate system will also in the future not be applied on the level of the basic organization of associated labor. It is believed that there is no need for this if the action programs of the basic party organizations reflect a realistic picture of the situation in their circles, if a democratic dialogue and creative criticism are developed and promoted and if the communists, together with other working people, solve the problems and thus wage a struggle for the policy and positions of the League of Communists in the overall self-managing delegate system. All this calls for vital changes in the manner and method of work of communists and of the basic party organizations.

If the session of the LCY Central Committee verifies them, all these views, proposals and suggestions will become the subject of the broadest possible internal party discussion.

ARMY AWARDS, PROMOTIONS PRESENTED ON ANNIVERSARY

Kraigher Presents Award

LD211452 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation and development of the Yugoslav People's Army and the SFRY Armed Forces, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, presented the high tribute of the Order of the People's Army with laurel wreath to the unit which continues the traditions of the 1st Proletarian National Liberation Brigade. The ceremony at the 4 July barracks was attended by Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Army General Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense; and fighters from the 1st Proletarian Brigade, representatives of the federation, Serbia and Belgrade, Pioneers, young people and citizens of Belgrade. After the national anthem was played, there was a minute's silence in honor of Supreme Commander Josip Broz Tito and the fighters of the 1st Proletarian Brigade who were killed or have died.

Having read the proclamation, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, pinned the decoration onto the banner of the unit which continues the traditions of the 1st Proletarian National Liberation Brigade. The members of the unit, the veterans and guests were welcomed by Novica Markovic, the unit's officer, and Lt Col Bozidar Sevo greeted those present on behalf of the veterans of the 1st Proletarian Brigade. Then Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, addressed the veterans, soldiers, officers and guests:

Permit me, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on my own behalf, to congratulate you once again on the 40th anniversary of the formation of your unit, on army day, and this high-ranking decoration awarded to you by the SFRY Presidency for exceptional results achieved in the combat development of the unit.

I congratulate most cordially those present, former fighters and officers, especially those comrades who exactly 40 years ago on a cold winter morning stood in line before Comrade Tito who unfortunately like many other fighters of this legendary unit is no longer among us. You had the great honor of continuing the traditions of the unit whose formation marked a historic turning point in the development of the National Liberation Army and revolution, a unit which was a source of brotherhood and unity and an example of heroism, communist morals and love for the people and the people's freedom.

In your work you justified this honor and demonstrated that you are worthy heirs of your glorious predecessors.

It is thus your obligation, as Comrade Tito often said, to continue to improve militarily and in expertise, and to develop all the forms of those relations which strengthen collectives and their moral and political unity, as well as maintaining and making rational use of the technology and resources at your disposal. I wish you new successes in future work in performing these tasks.

Your anniversary is also the anniversary of our armed forces. Although at the time of the formation of the 1st Proletarian Brigade -- the first large regular and operative tactical unit of the National Liberation Army -- there were already a large number of partisan detachments and other armed groups in a wide area of our country. The creation of such a unit represents, above all, the start of a qualitatively new phase in the strategy of waging the liberation war and revolution. The 1st Proletarian Brigade and the proletarian brigades formed later, which were directly commanded by the supreme headquarters and Comrade Tito, represented a great military and political force capable of an essential influence on the course and length of the national liberation struggle and revolution generally.

In marking this great holiday of not only the members of the armed forces, but of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, I wish to recall that our armed forces are the best prepared and most organized part of the overall system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. Their task is not only to protect the country's independence from outside attacks and threats, but also to act as a factor in the defense of the power of the working class and all working people, socialist self-management and the equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. This is the class essence of their revolutionary essence and their devotion to the historic aims of the working class and its vanguard, the LCY.

I consider that this should be clearly stressed because of those who even today are trying to threaten our togetherness and the gains for which much blood and sweat was spilled during the revolution and socialist construction. Our armed forces are supremely trained and armed in modern methods with firm moral and political unity, ready and able, together with the other elements of all-people's defense and social self-protection, to prevent any attempt by an internal or external enemy to deflect us from Tito's path, the path of socialist self-management.

Following the speech by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, a formal parade by the unit took place, and then the soldiers, veterans, Pioneers and young people danced the Kozara Kolo.

Promotions, Medals Given

LD220012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG) -- By the decree of the SFRY Presidency the following officers have been promoted:

Lieutenant colonel generals to the rank of colonel generals: Stemo Ilic and Aleksandar Janic

Major generals to the rank of lieutenant colonel generals: Slavko Buncic, Ekrem Duric, Blazo Kafedziski, Marko Kalodjera, Vincec Krmelu, Slavko Maricevic, Jovo Ninkovic, Mikhail Petric, Dr Stanislav Piscevic, Milenko Radovanov, Bosko Ranitovic, Ilija Raskovic, Pavel Suc, Padovan Vasiljevic.

Colonels to the rank of major generals: Alouzij Ahlin, Milos Bajcetic, Jozef Berce, Ilija Boric, Simeon Buncic, Kemal Buzalkjo, Nikola Cuba, Dragisa Drljevic, Slavoljub Djokic, Rado Jakin, Djordjije Jaukovic, Zvonko Jurjevic, Uros Kupresanin, Nikola Maravic, Ivan Omahen, Zivota Panic, Simo Papic, Mile Polojac, Ivan Radanovic, Tomislav Simovic, Svetozar Stojkovic.

By the decree of the SFRY Presidency, Adm Branko Mamula and Col Gen Dr Izidor Papo have been decorated with the Order of the Yugoslav Star with sash and Col Generals Dzemil Sarac and Dane Cuic, with the Order of the War Banner.